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FUGITIVE PIECES, &c.

PROSE AND POETICAL.

For MARCH, 1788.



..... "With sweetest flow'rs enrich'd,
"From various gardens cull'd with care."

..... "Collecta revirescunt."



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A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For MARCH, 1788.

Observations upon an hypothesis for solving the phenomena of light: with incidental observations, tending to show the heterogeneousness of light, and of the electric fluid, by their intermixture, or union, with each other. Communicated to the American academy of arts and sciences, by James Bowdoin, esq. president of said academy, and late governor of the State of Massachusetts.

IN reviewing some letters I had written to a philosophical friend, dr. Franklin, there occurred, on the subject of one of them, some observations, which appeared to me new. They are principally contained in the two last of three memoirs, which I shall lay before the academy: to whose judgment it will be submitted, whether they have any thing beside their novelty to recommend them.

As they were occasioned by considering dr. Franklin's queries concerning light, the strictures on those queries, as being introductory to the observations, will make a part of these memoirs.

The first memoir will accordingly contain a few strictures, or cursory remarks, on his hypothesis for solving the phenomena of light: with incidental observations concerning the heterogeneousness of light, and the electric fluid.

It is offered in full confidence, that our celebrated countryman, whose happy genius has contributed so largely to the advancement of philosophical knowledge, will be pleased with any attempt for that purpose, whether successful or not, even though it should be upon principles, that may not perfectly harmonize with some of his own.

The doctor, dissatisfied with the received doctrine concerning light, offers several objections to it, in the form of queries; and, in the same form, proposes an hypothesis of his own: both of which will be considered.

With respect to the hypothesis, it is asked—* “May not all the phenomena of light, be more conveniently solved, by supposing universal space filled with a subtle elastic fluid, which, when at rest, is not visible, but whose vibrations affect that fine sense in the eye, as those of air do the grosser organs of the ear? We do not, in the case of sound, imagine that any sonorous particles are thrown off from a bell, for instance, and fly in strait lines to the ear: why must we believe that luminous particles

NOTE.

* See letters and papers on philosophical subjects, page 265. edit. 1769.

leave the sun, and proceed to the eye? Some diamonds, if rubbed, shine in the dark without losing any part of their matter. I can make an electrical spark as big as the flame of a candle, much brighter, and therefore visible further; yet this is without fuel: and I am persuaded no part of the electric fluid flies off in such case to distant places, but all goes directly, and is to be found in the place to which I destine it. May not different degrees of the vibration of the above-mentioned universal medium, occasion the appearances of different colours? I think the electric fluid is always the same; yet I find that weaker and stronger sparks differ in apparent colour: some white, blue, purple, red;—the strongest white; weak ones, red."

Several objections here present themselves. Some of them arising from the hypothesis itself; and others from the comparison of light with sound.

In respect of the former, if universal space be filled with a subtle elastic fluid, (so as to exclude any vacuum) that fluid must always be at rest, and therefore, by the hypothesis, always invisible; and consequently there would always be universal darkness. Or if any part of the fluid could be put in motion, the whole of it must be in motion: for not one particle of it could move, without moving, in the direction of its motion, the adjoining one, and this the next; and so on, *ad infinitum*. In this case, the least motion, wherever it might commence, must produce universal motion; and consequently, universal light; between which and universal darkness, there could be no medium.

But if the meaning of the expression be, what it was probably intended to be, that universal space, instead of being filled, doth greatly abound, with an elastic fluid, then

would not every thing, which disturbed that fluid, cause a luminous appearance? Would not the inhabitants of the sea and air, in all their motions, bespangle both; and thereby exhibit the various colours according to the different degrees of vibration, which those motions might occasion in the elastic fluid? As to ourselves, would not a radiance attend us wherever we went? What occasion should we have of candle-light, when a quick vibration of the hand, or of machines made for that purpose, would dispel the night? Or rather, might we not suppose there would be no night at all? for the action of the sun (if the sun should be necessary) would be communicated to us, notwithstanding the interposition of the earth. And would not the effect of that action, even at noon, when most direct, be only to enlighten us, unattended with heat, so essentially necessary to enliven and invigorate the animal and vegetable world?—Would not the elastic fluid, instead of exhibiting a round luminous body, which we call the sun, be itself a continued universal blaze of light? And would not this, in the present constitution of things, obstruct vision, and totally alter the science of optics?

The objections, implied in the foregoing queries, seem deducible from the hypothesis. There are several, which appear to arise from the comparison of light with sound.

1st. As sound (or a vibrating, or undulating motion in the air, which I consider here as synonymous) is propagated from the sonorous body in all directions—and surounds, and is propagated beyond or behind any obstacle in its way; so light, if it was a vibration, or undulation, of the elastic fluid, would surround, and be propagated behind an obstacle, like sound: but this does not agree with the fact. adly. As sound or the vibrating motion in the air, origina-

ing in a house, or any other enclosure, would, from a hole in one of the sides of it, be propagated externally, in circles, of which the hole would be the centre: so light, if it was a vibration, or occasioned by a vibration, of the elastic fluid, as passing through a hole, would be propagated in circles, of which the hole would be the centre. But this does not correspond to the fact: for light, in passing through any uniform medium, always passes in right lines.

Beside these, an objection similar to one of those, which have been advanced against the common hypothesis, and which may be seen in the proper place, may be alleged against this; for the constant vibration, with which the elastic fluid must be agitated, would communicate to small bodies, and even to large ones suspended in that fluid, a constant tremulous, vibratory motion. In such a case, it would be difficult to examine the texture and visible qualities of those small bodies, as one necessary mean of examination, a great deal of light, would increase the vibration; and thereby render the examination not only difficult, but impracticable. It is apprehended, however, that no such motion, or embarrassment, in the making of such examinations, has ever been observed.

What is mentioned about the electrical spark, that it is bright, and visible at a distance, and this without fuel—and that no part of the electrical fluid flies off, in such case, to distant places, but all goes directly, and is to be found in the place, to which it is destined, appears to support the hypothesis: as the implicit inference seems to be, that the visibility of the electric spark arises from the vibration it produces in the universal elastic fluid. But if the foregoing queries furnish sufficient

reason for doubting the existence of such a fluid, or for doubting such an effect from it, supposing its existence, will they not furnish equal reason for doubting the hypothesis?

The visibility of the electric spark may be accounted for, upon the principles of the received doctrine concerning light, without supposing any diminution of the pure electric fluid in the spark: no part of which, it is said, flies off in the case mentioned.

It seems not improbable, that the electric fluid is heterogeneous as well as light.

The heterogeneity of light is inferred from its colours, which are said to vary proportionally, as the size of the particles doth vary; the variation becoming conspicuous by a prism, and by other means, which class the particles according to their respective magnitudes, or degrees of refrangibility and reflexivity.

Beside this, another reason may be suggested, from which the heterogeneity of light may be deduced: namely, because it exhibits effects similar to some of those of electricity. For example, a globe or pane of glass warmed in the sun, or before a fire, will successively attract and repel small cork balls, down, and such like bodies insulated, and properly circumstanced; and will shew other signs of electricity communicated to the glass by the sun or fire.

So, in regard to electricity, its heterogeneity may be collected from its producing effects resembling some of those of light or fire; which are here considered as equivalent terms.

Electricity and fire differ in many respects, and in some they agree; as hath been shewn in dr. Franklin's letters on electricity. So far as they agree in their effects, their nature may be presumed to be alike; or rather, from that agreement and

similitude of effects, I think it may be inferred, that they are mixed with, and generally do accompany each other: and that each produces its own effect at the time of their joint operation. The effects of electricity, similar to those of fire, being produced by the fire mixed with it; and the effects of fire, resembling those of electricity being produced by the electricity mixed with that: the compound taking its name from the predominant principle.

Thus, fire inflames bodies, and throws its particles or light at a distance. Hence the explosion of gunpowder, and the luminous appearance, occasioned by the electric spark: the fire mixed with it producing those effects.

Thus also, electricity attracts and repels certain small bodies alternately, under given circumstances. Hence, the alternate attraction and repulsion of glass, and some other things, heated by fire: the electricity mixed with the communicated fire producing those effects.

In this way, I would infer the heterogeneousness of light and electricity, and their mixture with each other; and in this way, account for the similitude and difference of their effects; and for the luminous appearance or visibility of the electric spark in particular, without diminishing the pure electric fluid contained in it: all of which, in the case referred to, is said to go directly, and is to be found in the place, to which it was destined.

On the same principles, the shining of diamonds in the dark, when rubbed, and thereby electrified, may be accounted for, without supposing they lose any part of their matter.

In regard to the different colours of the electric spark, which are more or less strong according to the strength of the spark, they correspond to the different colours of light or fire,

which are more or less vivid according to the density or intenseness of that element. This sameness of effect shews a sameness of cause, or that the light or fire mixed with the electric spark produces those colours: whose strength or vividness being according to the bigness of the spark, or to its quantity of electric fluid, makes it probable, than in proportion to the quantity, there is more or less light or fire contained in that fluid.

Those different appearances seem to be a further instance or proof of the heterogeneousness of the electric fluid; and, taken in connexion with other appearances above-mentioned, shew the intermixture, and the consequent heterogeneousness, of the two elements.

The next thing to be considered, is, the objection to the received doctrine concerning light. But this will be the subject of another memoir.



Observations on light, and the waste of matter in the sun and fixed stars, occasioned by the constant efflux of light from them: with a conjecture, proposed by way of query, and suggesting a mean, by which their several systems might be preserved from the disorder and final ruin, to which they seem liable by that waste of matter, and by the law of gravitation. Communicated to the American academy of arts and sciences, by James Bowdoin, esq. president of said academy, and late governor of the state of Massachusetts.

HAVING in a preceding memoir laid before the academy the observations that occurred on the subject of dr. Franklin's hypothesis relative to light, I shall now consider his objections to the received doctrine concerning it.

The objections will appear by the

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* See
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following paragraph taken from one of his letters on philosophical subjects.

"I must own, says the doctor*, I am much in the dark about light. I am not satisfied with the doctrine, that supposes particles of matter called light, continually driven off from the sun's surface, with a swiftness so prodigious! Must not the smallest particle conceivable, have, with such a motion, a force exceeding that of a twenty-four pounder, discharged from a cannon? Must not the sun diminish exceedingly by such a waste of matter, and the planets, instead of drawing nearer to him, as some have feared, recede to greater distances through the lessened attraction? Yet these particles, with this amazing motion, will not drive before them, or remove, the least and lightest dust they meet with: and the sun, for aught we know, continues of his ancient dimensions; and his attendants move in their ancient orbits."

The doctor's dissatisfaction with the received doctrine, is founded on two objections implied in his queries, and which may be expressed in the following propositions.

1st. That supposing the doctrine true, the smallest particle of light must be driven to us with prodigious force, a force exceeding that of a twenty-four pounder, discharged from a cannon. But this is contrary to fact.

2dly. That the sun must be exceedingly diminished by such a waste of matter; and the planets, in consequence of it, must recede to greater distances from him. But, for aught we know, both the sun and the

planets, continue in their ancient state.

From these propositions it is implicitly inferred, that the doctrine is not well founded.

Among the observations on the second proposition, an hypothesis will be proposed, by way of query, suggesting a mean, whereby the material system, collectively taken, might be preserved from the disorder and ruin, to which they seem liable from causes hinted at in that proposition.

In regard to the objection contained in the first proposition, it adopts the idea, that light, like any other body in motion, will strike with a force proportioned to the degree of its motion: which degree of motion, or the celerity, multiplied by the quantity of matter in the body, will, in the result, express its force or momentum.

If, then, we can suppose the quantity of matter in a particle of light to be, not indeed absolutely, but comparatively, ϕ , its momentum will also be comparatively ϕ ; and it can have, in that case, no visible effect on the smallest particle of dust, to remove it.

Let us now consider what reason there is for such a supposition. In order to that, I beg leave to introduce here, a paragraph, from one of my letters to dr. Franklin, printed with his letters and papers on philosophical subjects. It runs thus*, "The flame of a candle, it is said, may be seen four miles round. The light, diffused through this circle of eight miles diameter, was contained, before it left the candle, within a circle of half an inch diameter. If the density of light, in these circumstances, be as those circles to each other, that is, as the squares of their

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* See letters and papers on philosophical subjects, page 264. edit. 1799.

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* Letters, &c. p. 275.

diameters (or, which is equivalent, if the density decreases as the square of the distance or semi-diameter increases, the candle-light, when come to the eye, will be 1,027,709,337,600 times rarer than when it first quitted the half-inch circle. Now the aperture of the eye, through which the light passes, does not exceed one tenth of an inch diameter, and the portion of the less circle, which corresponds to this small portion of the greater circle, must be proportionably, that is, 1,027,709,337,600 times less than one-tenth of an inch: and yet this infinitely small point (if you will allow the expression) affords light enough to make it visible: or rather affords light sufficient to affect the sight at that distance."

If the calculation, referred to in that paragraph, be just—and we should suppose a single particle of light, though incomparably smaller, to be in bigness equal to that point—I would ask whether the quantity of matter in such a particle would not be small in a greater degree than its velocity, equal to that of the sun's light, would be great? If so, a particle of light in motion, agreeably to the foregoing supposition, may be here estimated so, and its momentum not sufficient to remove the lightest dust; much less to do as much execution as a twenty-four pounder, discharged from a cannon.

It is impossible to calculate the momentum, where the requisite data cannot be had: but supposing the candle-flame equal in bulk to a sphere of half an inch diameter, and to weigh as much as an equal bulk of air, viz. about one thirtieth part of a grain; though in fact its gravity is incomputably less than that of air: then the square aforesaid will express the proportion, in which the density of the candle-light is diminished at the

verge of the greater circle: and the same proportion of one thirtieth of a grain will express the weight of that light at the verge, viz. one 30,831,280,128,000th part of a grain; which we will consider as the weight of a single particle of the sun's light. If the velocity of light be at the rate of 80,000,000 miles in six minutes, then its velocity will be 222,222 miles, equal to 14,079,985,920 inches, in a second. This number of inches, divided by 30,831,280,128,000, the supposed particles in a grain, will shew the degree of motion required in a body weighing one grain, to give it a momentum, equal to that of a particle of light, upon the hypothesis assumed: which motion will be 456 millionth parts of an inch in a second, equal to one inch in 2190 seconds, or thirty six minutes and an half; and is much slower than the hour-hand of a common clock; which, with its greater degree of motion, and much greater quantity of matter, does not give to the smallest bodies, placed in its way, any visible motion.

Precision in this calculation is not aimed at, and the nature of the subject does not admit of it: but it is apprehended it will appear sufficiently evident from it, that light, even if its velocity were much greater than it is, and its gravity equal to that of air, to which, with great disadvantage to the argument, it has been, in that respect, compared, cannot drive before it the lightest dust, or, indeed, give it any sensible motion at all.

To the same purpose it may be further observed, that light reflected to the eye through a microscope and prism, would, it is apprehended, exhibit the same variety of colours, as light coming directly from the sun. In which case, the ray so viewed, (like the candle-ray, which has been

considered as a single particle only) must be composed of a multitude of particles; and be a proof, that the particles of light are inconceivably smaller than the calculation supposes. This degree of smallness, however, represents them to be of great magnitude, compared with their real size: for, when we consider, that the sun's light is diffused through the whole solar system, and much beyond it—and that a part of it, in that attenuated state, is reflected to us from the planets, in which reflection it undergoes, by its divergence, a further, and an extreme, attenuation—and especially, when we consider the immense sphere, throughout which the light of the fixed stars is visible, particularly those of them, whose distance is so vast, that, at opposite points of the earth's orbit, they have no sensible parallax—the divisibility of light, and the proportionable tenuity of its particles, confound the imagination; and render human calculation inadequate to express the precise degree of them, or the inconsiderableness of the momentum of those particles.

This inadequateness is particularly applicable to the foregoing calculation: which was purposely made on the disadvantageous principles assumed in it, to shew, that even on such principles, the momentum of light could produce no visible motion in the smallest bodies, that fall under our notice. But had the calculation been founded on the state of the sun's light, reflected from one of the planets, for instance, the Georgium Sidus, lately discovered by Mr. Herschell, the result would have been widely different; and we should, in that case, have had a juster idea of the momentum. The light reflected to the earth from that planet, whose mean distance from the sun is said to be 2,000,000,000 miles, is so extremely attenuated, that the momen-

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tum of a particle of it, transferred to a body, weighing a millionth part of a grain, would communicate to it so small a degree of motion, that it would require millions of ages for that body to move the diminutive part of an inch mentioned in that calculation.

If these observations be just, it is apprehended they shew, with some degree of evidence, that a particle of light, notwithstanding its prodigious velocity, cannot, by its impulse, remove other bodies, or displace even the finest microscopic dust; and that the doctrine objected to, may be true, notwithstanding the first of the two objections, which have been made to it.

The second proposition, containing the other objection, is, that in case there are particles of matter, called light, continually driven off from the sun's surface, the sun must be exceedingly diminished by such a waste of matter; and the planets, in consequence of it, must recede to greater distances from him, through the lessened attraction.

Here I beg leave to observe, that if the material system, in its present form, was not intended by its Creator to be perpetual, then the waste of the sun's matter, and the consequent disorder in the system, arising from the altered state of its gravitation, will only be a proof of that intention: and not operate against the truth of the doctrine.

That system, like every other, derived from the same original, doubtless has within itself the means of continuing in its present form, until the great and wise purposes of its author shall be brought into effect, and completely answered.

With respect to the solar system, so far as its continuance depends on the sun, it seems calculated, notwithstanding the supposed waste of the sun's matter, to last for many
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ages; for the sun, by reason of its prodigious bulk, and the divisibility of its matter, must, from its own internal sources, furnish light to the system, through a long tract of time, without being sensibly diminished. If those eccentric bodies, called comets, which have been thought intended to recruit the sun's waste of matter, do in fact answer that purpose, provision is then made for the preservation of the system, at least until those bodies shall have all successively fallen into the sun, and been expended. When that shall happen, if there be provided no further means of recruit, the system will begin to decay, and finally be reduced to a chaotic state: from which, like our earth, it may be restored in some new form, to answer the further purposes of the Creator. I mention our earth, as in the Mosaic account of it, its original is described in such a manner, as to give us the idea of its having been an old planet, by some means or other reduced to a chaos; from which it was renovated, and made suitable for the purposes, to which it has been applied.

There is nothing unreasonable, or improbable, in that idea: and if the earth was so renovated, it may be inferred from analogy, that in case the present system should go to decay, a new one, and perhaps a superior one, would arise from its ruins.

These observations are founded on the idea of the waste of the sun's matter, and its final dissolution, with that of the system depending upon it: whether gradually occasioned by that waste of matter, or more rapidly brought on by the general law of gravitation. In this view of things, the objection does not militate with the doctrine.

But perhaps it may be thought more philosophical, and that it would better comport with our ideas of the

wisdom of the Creator, to suppose, that when he created the system, he intended it should be a permanent one; and at the same time furnished it with the means of its own preservation. In which case, may it not be further supposed, particularly with regard to the efflux of light from the sun, by which its matter is conceived to be wasted, that he provided means whereby the effluent particles, after answering the purpose of their efflux, should be returned to the sun, to answer again, in a constant succession, the same purpose?

I do not know, whether the hypothesis, suggested in the following queries, and relative to that subject, be admissible, or not. It is however offered for consideration.

It was primarily and specially intended to suggest a mean for preventing the ruin, to which the material system seems liable, from the general principle of gravitation: but the same mean may possibly be applied to restore to the sun, in a regular succession, its effluent light; and thereby obviate the evil effects that might otherwise follow from the efflux.

Is it not conceivable, that round the solar system, and the several systems, which compose the visible heavens, there might have been formed a hollow sphere, or orb, made of matter, *sui generis*, or of matter like that of the planets, and surrounding the whole; having its inner or concave surface at a proper distance therefrom; beyond which surface light could not pass, and between which, and the particles of light, there should be a mutual repulsion? And might not the sun, or source of light, of each system, have been so placed, in respect of each other, and the concave surface of the surrounding orb, that there should be, by direct and repeatedly indirect reflexions, an interchange of rays between them, in such a manner, as that to

each there should be restored the quantity it had emitted; and thereby the waste of its matter be prevented: and this at the same time it dispensed its light to its particular system?

This use of such an orb is here meant to be considered as a secondary or incidental one; to which it might be applied: but the principal or primary use of it, as a counterbalance to the gravitating principle of the systems contained within it, will be seen in its proper place.

There is a remarkable phenomenon in the solar system, to which the ideal one, just mentioned, bears some resemblance, and by which it was suggested: I mean the ring or arch, which surrounds the planet Saturn. We are told by astronomers that its width, and also its distance from Saturn, is about 25,000 miles—forming around that planet a beautiful arch, which may be designed, among other purposes, to increase its light and heat by reflecting upon it, like a concave mirror, the sun's rays: of which, by reason of its great distance from the sun, it would not otherwise have had a sufficient quantity.

If Saturn were a luminous body, perfect, and the arch, (made of suitable matter, and properly constructed, for the purpose) entirely environed it, the whole quantity of light emitted from it, would be reflected back; and no waste of its matter arise from that emission. The same kind of hollow sphere or orb, surrounding, for instance, the solar system, would answer the same purpose. Its sun being in the centre of the orb, would have all its light reverberated back to it: except the comparatively small quantity intercepted by the planets: a great part of which quantity would, by direct, and indirect reflexions, be returned to the sun; and a quantity equal to

the remainder, by means of volcanoes, and other internal fires in the planets, might be thrown off from them, and conveyed to the sun; whereby the equilibrium of the whole might be preserved.

Such an orb for a single system appears simple and plain; and such an one for the whole choir of systems, though seemingly more complicated, might yet appear equally suitable for the purpose, when its structure, and the laws and principles which governed it, and also the situation of the several systems relative to it, and to each other, should become known.

Its stupendous extension would be no objection to the supposition of its reality: for if the convenience and pleasure of the inhabitants of Saturn were a sufficient reason for furnishing that planet with its massy ring, the preservation of such a choir of systems, with the astonishing multitudes of their inhabitants, would justify and sufficiently support the supposition of such an orb: especially, when it is considered, that besides answering the grand purpose of preserving those systems, it might, perhaps, like Saturn's ring, be provided on both sides of it, with ample means of making it a suitable place for habitation—the habitation of myriads of millions of animate beings, equal or superior to those, which people our planetary system.

Beyond that orb, at proper distances, it is conceivable, there might be other concentric orbs, equally suitable for habitation, and alike inhabited: including within them innumerable systems of planets, resembling the solar system, and like that animated, and adorning the infinite expanse.

To this hypothesis, objections may be made, and such as might prove it to be, like many a one which has

preceded it, a mere philosophical reverie. But before it be ranked in that class, I would ask, whether, if there be no such orb, nor any thing to answer a like purpose, the law of gravitation, that universal law, on which the philosophy of the immortal Newton is founded—by which, with such admirable sagacity, he has explained the phenomena of material nature—and on which he makes its preservation depend, will not finally bring on its dissolution? Or rather, whether the operation of that law would not long ago have brought it on?

The sun of our planetary system, and the suns (called fixed stars) of other systems, and therefore the systems themselves, do probably, according to astronomical observations, possess the same relative place; or are, in respect of each other, fixed. But how are the exterior systems (supposing the whole not boundless) prevented from approaching towards the common centre of gravity: from which, if they have no revolution round it, (which the like observations make probable) they cannot be kept by a projectile or centrifugal force? Must they not constantly by that law be drawn, with an accelerating motion, towards that centre; and finally, with the whole choir of systems, directed by that law, arrive at it with successive tremendous crashes, until the destruction of the whole would be completed? and could any thing, but the interposition of the power which created them, prevent it*?

NOTE.

* Mr. Whiston observes, "It is by no means impossible, that all the bodies in the universe should approach to one another, and at last unite in the common centre of gravity of the entire system: nay from the uni-

If such a catastrophe would be the effect of that law, would it not demonstrate the wisdom and foresight of the Creator, to suppose, he provided the means of counteracting that effect, at the same time he ordained the law? And among the possible means of doing it, is it not conceivable, that a hollow sphere, or orb, analogous to that above described, might be one?

It has been suggested in what way such an orb might prevent the gradual waste and decay of the material system. Let us now see, whether it might not be applied to prevent the swifter and more dreadful catastrophe, to which the law of gravitation, in certain circumstances, seems capable of subjecting that system.

The described orb, like every other body, would possess the gravitating principle, in proportion to its quantity of matter: which, in different parts of the orb, might be more or less dense, as the effect, intended to be produced, might require. Where a strong attractive power might be necessary, the density would be greater; and so, *vice versa*: and to assist or co-operate with it, a magnetic power might be superadded.

Thus constituted, and furnished with those, and other needful qualities, and surrounding the whole visible choir of systems, might not the orb, by the principle of gravitation, either alone or assisted, keep those systems, next to it, from being drawn towards the centre of gravity by their own, and the

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versality of the law of gravitation, and the finiteness of the world, in length of time, except a miraculous power interpose and prevent it, it must really happen." Discourse, introductory to his theory, p. 38.

mutual action of the interior systems? And might not those several systems be so placed, and the densities of the bodies respectively belonging to them, with the densities of the surrounding orb, and consequently their mutual gravitating power, be so regulated, and adjusted, as to keep them all at the distance assigned them; and forever prevent their approximating, either to the centre of the general system, or to the surrounding orb: all of them together thus constituting an undecaying permanent whole?

It has been observed by philosophers, "that a body placed anywhere, within a hollow sphere, which is homogeneous, and every part of the same thickness, will exert no gravity, wheresoever it be placed: the opposite gravities always precisely destroying each other." But that observation cannot be applied to the hollow sphere of orb, above described: for by the description, it is not homogeneous. It need it be of equal thickness: which, however, is a circumstance for consideration, if equal thickness, with different degrees of density in different parts, would answer the purpose.

The phenomena of nature, upon the supposition of such an orb, would probably be the same, *ceteris paribus*, now take place. Whether that supposition be supported by phenomena, and what other foundation there is for it, will be the subject of future memoir.

NOTE.

* Chambers's Cyclopædia, under sound gravity.

Observations tending to prove, by phenomena and scripture, the existence of an orb, which surrounds the whole visible material system; and which may be necessary to preserve it from the ruin, to which, without such a counterbalance, it seems liable by that universal principle in matter, gravitation. Communicated to the American academy of arts and sciences, by James Bowdoin, esq. president of the said academy, and late governor of the state of Massachusetts.

AT the conclusion of a memoir, entitled, "Observations on light," &c. which I have had the honour to lay before the academy, it was intimated, that there are phenomena in nature, and other evidence, tending to prove the existence of an orb, that surrounds the whole visible material system.

The evidence is—phenomena and scripture.

The phenomena are,—the luminous girdle in the blue expanse, called the Milky Way—other luminous appearances in it—and the expanse itself.

In regard to the luminous girdle, or Milky Way.—This phenomenon has been supposed to result from the combined lustre of infinite multitudes of stars, too distant to be distinctly visible. But although it be observed through telescopes, that there is a great number of stars in the Milky Way, on which circumstance the supposition is founded, they appear as stars set in it, distinguishable from it, and not contributing to form the phenomenon.

The supposition not only disagrees with the appearance, but is inconsistent with every philosophical idea concerning those stars. They are represented to be suns: each having its system of planets revolving round

it; and consequently requiring a space proportioned to their number, and the extent of their systems: which space, for such multitudes of them as the supposition implies, must be beyond conception immense: and through which they must therefore be dispersed at such distances, that comparatively few of them could be visible by us; and that the whole together would not blend their light to cause that phenomenon.

On the contrary, the phenomenon strikes us, as it may be supposed such a luminous girdle would strike, if its light were reflected from the concave surface of a far-distant orb: to which, on the hypothesis assumed, it had been propelled from the numerous systems which the orb enfolds.

The same idea is suggested by the different degrees of its light, from a small light to a faint one, scarcely discernible; by the frequent interruptions of it; and by the large chasm, which, for a considerable space makes the girdle appear double and very irregular.

These appearances may be occasioned by the situation of the earth, in respect to those parts of the orb, from which certain cones of light (presently to be explained) are reflected; and by that particular construction, and configuration of those parts; by means of which those cones are broken and irregularly reflected to the earth: whose different situations in its orbit, by reason of its great distance from the orb, would occasion no sensible difference in the appearance.

With respect to the other luminous appearances in the concave expanse, I beg leave here to introduce several observations upon that subject, from two authors, who have distinguished themselves in the astronomical branch of science.

One of them, dr. Smith, in his

system of optics, * observes that Hugenius, in the year 1656, looking by chance through a large telescope, at three small stars very close to one another, in the middle of Orion's sword, saw several more as usual. But the three little stars very near one another, (marked δ by Bayer) together with four more, shone out as it were through a whitish cloud much brighter than the ambient sky which being very black, caused the lucid part to appear like an aperture, which gave a prospect into a brighter region. He viewed it many times; and found it continued in the very same place, and of the same shape as the figure here represents:



and called it, *portentum, cui certe simile aliud nusquam apud reliquas fixas potuit animadvertere.*"

He also observes, that "in the philosophical transactions, † there is an account of a later discovery of five more such lucid spots, though less considerable than this of Hugenius; the middle of which, as are there told, is at present in Π ."

NOTES.

* P. 447—8

† No. 347, Jones's Abr. vol. iv. p. 224.

9° 00' with south latitude 28° 45' and that it sends forth a radiant beam into the south-east, as another in the girdle of Andromeda seems to do into the north-east. It is also there remarked, that though these spots are in appearance but small, and most of them but a few minutes in diameter; yet, since they are among the fixed stars, as having no annual parallax, they cannot fail to occupy spaces immensely great; and, perhaps, not less than our whole solar system: in all which spaces, it should seem, that there is a perpetual uninterrupted day."

The other author, Mr. Ferguson, speaking of the Milky-Way, says*, "There is a remarkable tract round the heavens, called the Milky-Way, from its peculiar whiteness, which was formerly thought to be owing to a vast number of very small stars therein: but the telescope shews it to be quite otherwise; and therefore its whiteness must be owing to some other cause. This tract appears single in some parts, in others double."

"There are several little whitish spots in the heavens, which appear magnified, and more luminous, when seen through telescopes; yet without any stars in them." Five of which spots he particularly mentions.

He next observes, that "cloudy stars are so called from their misty appearance. They look like dim stars to the naked eye: but through the telescope, they appear broad illuminated parts of the sky; in some of which is one star, in others more. The most remarkable of all the cloudy stars, is that in the middle of Orion's sword, where seven (of which three are very close together) seem to shine through a

cloud very lucid near the middle, but faint and ill-defined about the edges. It looks like a gap in the sky, through which one may see, as it were, part of a much brighter region."

These quotations, without making any comment upon them, shew, that the Milky-Way is not owing to the stars contained in it; that the telescope shews it to be quite otherwise; and that it must be owing to some other cause: that, in respect to the lucid spots, in some of them there are no stars; in others but few; and that one of them exhibits a remarkable appearance of an aperture, or gap, that gave a prospect into a brighter region: that the spaces they occupy, though small in appearance, are, perhaps, not less than our whole solar system; and that in them it should seem there is perpetual uninterrupted day.

From these phenomena it seems not improbable, that the Milky-Way, and those lucid spots, are parts of a concave body or orb, of the same nature with some of the other heavenly bodies; and, whose light transmitted to us, exhibits those phenomena, according to the laws and circumstances, which regulate it.

There is another, and still more remarkable phenomenon, that suggests the idea of such an orb; I mean the blue concave expanse, which surrounds, and appears to limit visible nature; and which is the last to be considered.

It is thus explained by Sir Isaac Newton; who observes, that all the "vapours, when they begin to condense and coalesce into natural particles, become first of such a bigness as to reflect the azure rays, ere they can constitute clouds of any other colour. This, therefore, being the first colour they begin to reflect, must be that of the finest

NOTE.

Astronomy, p. 339—40. Edit.

and most transparent skies: in which the vapours are not arrived to a grossness sufficient to reflect other colours."

By this explanation, it appears, that the cause of this phenomenon exists within the earth's atmosphere. If it really doth exist within it, the phenomenon, from the assigned cause of it, seems to be nothing more than a blue transparent cloud, more or less extensive, in proportion as the atmosphere may happen to be less or more charged with other clouds.

If this were the cause, would not the heavenly bodies, in a clear sky, partake of the colour of that cloud, and appear blue, or be tinged with it, by means of their light passing through the blue cloud? And would not this appearance indicate, that the blue rays of their light were transmitted, and the other coloured rays, for the most part, reflected, from the atmosphere? Would not that transmission of the blue rays occasion all bodies around us to appear blue, so long as the atmosphere, continuing clear, should exhibit the blue cloud*? And would not the colours of those bodies vary, as other coloured clouds should succeed and predominate.

Would not this reflection of the other coloured rays occasion not only a decrease of light, but, with respect to the sun, a great diminution of its heat? If the several different coloured rays do each, in respect to heat, produce an equal effect; and all but the blue rays are reflected, should we not in a clear day, be deprived of six-sevenths, or a proportionable part, of the sun's heat, which the seven sorts of rays, had they

NOTE.

* Chambers's *Cyclopædia*, under the word blueness.

been all transmitted, would have afforded?

Such appearances and effects might have been expected, if the assigned cause produced the phenomenon for the sun's light and other light and also bodies in general, whatever be their colour, being viewed thro' a medium of any original colour will appear of that colour, or strongly tinged with it. But it is apprehended, that no such appearances and effects have ever been observed, and, therefore, that there is reason to doubt the reality of the cause assigned: the insufficiency of which may further appear in the course of these observations.

But how is the existence of an orb deduced from the phenomenon—in the same manner as the existence of the other heavenly bodies and the existence of the bodies around us are deduced: namely, from the uniformity and permanency of their visible qualities, or phenomena?

In regard to bodies around us, whenever by sight we have been impressed with certain ideas of colour, form, and magnitude, corresponding to bodies near us, and at an approachable distance, we have found by constant and uniform experience derived also from, and confirmed by every other sense and means of information, that such bodies do really exist: and having thus from experience gained the knowledge, that certain phenomena do infallibly indicate the existence of those bodies, the phenomena themselves do alone become the undisputed evidence of that existence.

Nature is simple and uniform in its operations. From the same cause follow like effects; and these effects indicate the same cause. Bodies of every kind, through the medium of light, produce their respective phenomena, and these demonstrate the reality of those bodies.

From these principles, we infer the reality of those terrestrial bodies, which, by reason of their situation and distance, can only be the objects of sight: and from the same principles we also infer the reality of the heavenly bodies, the planets and fixed stars. If this last inference be just, is it not equally just to infer from the same principles, the reality of the blue circumambient expanse? that is, that it is a real concave body, encompassing all visible nature: which is the exact description of the concave surface of the orb above-mentioned.

There is one appearance of the blue expanse, which may be thought to militate with the foregoing account of it.

In a clear day, it appears of a brighter blue than in the night, occasioned by the sun's light, reflected to us by the earth's atmosphere. From which circumstance, it might be supposed, that the cause of the phenomenon doth exist within the atmosphere, and is the atmosphere itself, or its vapour. It is apprehended, however, that this would be a mistaken supposition; and that the appearance may be explained on principles, which will not only invalidate the supposition, but further shew the insufficiency of the cause, to which the phenomenon has been ascribed.

For that purpose it may be observed, that the atmosphere being invisible, must be without colour; and has, perhaps for that reason, no greater disposition to transmit or reflect to us the blue rays of light, whether of the sun or stars, than those of the other colours: and, therefore, if the phenomenon be produced by means of the blue rays of those luminaries (which I shall attempt to explain) the atmosphere cannot be the cause of that production.

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With respect to the vapours in the atmosphere, which, in a particular state, are said to occasion the phenomenon, they being of different degrees of grossness or density, must arrange themselves according to that density, or their specific gravity. If then any of the ranges consisted of vapour, in a proper state to transmit or reflect to the eye the blue rays only, the effect of it would be destroyed, or changed, by the grosser vapour in the lower range. Or if it should so happen (which seems very improbable) that the whole body of vapour should consist of particles of the due size, and in the proper state to reflect the blue rays, it could not long continue in that state, by reason of the changeable nature of the vapour, and the numerous causes, that are constantly operating to produce a change in it. But the phenomenon is uniform and permanent; and therefore must be the effect of an uniform and permanent cause.

If these observations have any foundation, neither the atmosphere nor its vapour, assisted by, or assisting, the direct light of the sun and stars, can be the cause of the phenomenon.

The atmosphere, however, or its finer and transparent vapour, contributes to the brighter hue of the phenomenon by day: which may be thus explained:

The sun's light in its mixed state, reflected by the atmosphere, or by the transparent vapour floating in it, enters the eye at the same time with the blue light of the expanse; and both together delineate on the retina an image, formed by their united rays, each producing its effect. The light from the expanse exhibiting the blue image; the light from the sun illuminating or brightening the image; and both together impressing the idea of that phenomenon, as it is displayed in a clear day.

C

If it should be asked, from whence the concave expanse derives its light, the answer is—from the numberless planetary or solar systems, which it includes: and particularly from those in the neighbourhood of it, which directly answer the purpose of enlightening and, in other respects, accommodating its inhabitants.

This light, transmitted to the expanse through its atmosphere, is reflected back directly and indirectly to the systems from which it issued, to be again, in a due succession, remitted to, and reflected from, the expanse. By such a reciprocation, and mutual interchange of light with each other, and among themselves, the several parts may be supplied with the quantity they had respectively emitted; and the equilibrium of the whole maintained: whereby the evils, that might otherwise ensue from the waste, or undue distribution of its matter, and the consequent alteration of its gravitation, might be prevented.

To different systems, according to their situations, the expanse may exhibit very different phenomena. Although to our system, or to us on this planet, it exhibits the blue concave of an all-surrounding orb; which, in the milky way, and in some other parts of it, shines with a brighter light, it may to other systems appear of other colours; and exhibit to some of them in succession, according to their situations, the several primitive colours, in the order, in which the rays of those colours are separated and classed.

Of one of these exhibitions, that of the blue colour, we have ocular demonstration. But why should the expanse appear to us blue, rather than green, or any other primitive colour? If that appearance can be explained by the refrangibility of light, or by the separation of it into its several colours, as perhaps it can,

the other appearances of the expanse to other systems, naturally, if not necessarily, follow.

Experiments prove, that light is compounded of differently-coloured rays; and that after it has passed through different mediums, properly disposed, the rays are refracted, or separated and classed, according to their different refrangibility; and shew those colours in the order just mentioned: that the three most refrangible of them, the blue, the indigo, and the violet, which possess one half of the space spread over by the whole, are so nearly allied in colour, that the last when considerably spread, are scarcely to be distinguished from the neighbouring blue: for which reason, those three classes appear as one, at a great distance from the refracting medium: and the blue, thus circumstanced, and uniting those classes, may therefore be said to possess a space equal to the space occupied by all the rest. That from any segment of a hollow sphere, such, for instance, as a concave mirror, whose arc does not exceed fifteen or eighteen * degrees; the cylinder of rays falling upon it, parallel to its axis, will, if there be no refraction, be reflected to a focus round that axis: the focus being nearly equidistant from the pole of the segment, and the centre of its sphere: and that those rays, if previously refracted, and classed into their several colours, will, in their divergence from the focal point, shew those colours in a reversed order: the refraction, however, occasioning an alteration in the position of the focus, and the diverging cone.

To apply some of these observations, it may be supposed that the

NOTE.

* Gravesande's Natural Philosophy, Book III. ch. xv. prop. 813,

interior side of the expanse has, in general, an uniform surface, which may be conceived as composed of a multitude of segments, each of them not exceeding a given arch: that it is furnished with an atmosphere, possessing, in some peculiar mode, the power of refracting light, of distributing its rays into their respective classes, and transmitting them to the expanse: which also may be conceived as assisting, by its reflecting power, in their classification: that the transmitted rays would, in their classed state, be reflected from it in all directions; and that such of them (by far the greatest + part of the whole) as should come to the atmos-

NOTE.

+ That these parallel rays (parallel, I mean, to any and every conceivable diameter-line of the expanse) must constitute the greatest quantity or proportion of the reflected light, will be manifest from these considerations: that they come to every segment or part of the expanse from the opposite part of it, and from the systems situated between such opposite parts: that the distance of any two opposite parts from each other, equal to the diameter of the expanse, is the greatest that can take place within it: that there must, therefore, be, in the space between them, a greater number of systems supplying the expanse with light, than there can be in any extra-central direction; and that this may be affirmed of every two opposite parts or segments in the whole surface of the expanse. The effect of the atmosphere, in regard to the refraction, is not here noticed. These rays, like the sun's rays at the earth, are considered as parallel, by reason of the great distance of the radiant bodies, and the consequent extreme minuteness of the angle of divergence at such a distance.

phere in parallel lines or in cylinders, whose axes were diameter-lines of the expanse, and whose bases were equal to those segments, would pass through the atmosphere to the corresponding segments of the expanse, and be reflected from them; and afterwards, in the same classed state, unite in a focus, from which they would diverge, and exhibit their several colours.

To give some idea, though an imperfect one, of that focus, the reflexion and convergence may be conceived as made (somewhat in the manner above represented) from the segments composing the whole surface of the expanse: that each segment would reflect a cone of rays, terminating in a focus; and that the united foci of those cones, which must be considered as coming from all quarters of the expanse, would constitute its general focus.

In some such disposition, and state of things, as here represented, it is conceivable, that the system-light, transmitted to the expanse through its atmosphere, might be reflected from those segments; and for the most part converge in cones towards a general focus; where, by means of the refraction and separation, it had undergone in that transmission and reflexion, it would be, in each cone, arranged or classed, according to the different refrangibility and reflexivity of its rays. After the rays had past the boundary of their focus, they would intersect each other, and form new and reversed cones, or conic figures, in which each sort of the coloured rays, as before the intersection, would generally be together; and in that associated state, continually diverge, in proportion to their distance from the line of intersection.

But perhaps the whole of this effect, the classification of the rays, may be caused by the reflecting

power of the expanse: which, in that case, would receive the rays in the same mixed state, as the direct solar light comes to the earth: with respect to which, we know, that it frequently undergoes a classification by reflexion, as well as by refraction.

In either case, as the three most refrangible and reflexible classes, at a proper distance from the focus, are not to be distinguished from each other, but all appear blue; and as the blue, at that distance and beyond it, doth therefore possess so large a portion of the interior space of the expanse, it is conceivable, that many systems may be so placed, as to be on all sides in the direction of the rays of that colour; and to which the whole expanse would, for that reason, appear blue.

With respect to the earth, it is probably so situated, as to be in all parts of its orbit, principally within the limits of such classes, as are composed of the blue rays; and partly within the verge of classes, whose rays, by reason of their imperfect separation, being in a mixed state, exhibit a brighter light. The predominant colour, therefore, of the expanse, as it respects the earth, is blue; with interspersions of a brighter light, such as the Milky Way, and other lucid parts of the expanse: whose irregular appearance, in the Milky Way, may be owing (as hath been already suggested,) to the particular construction and configuration of its parts: the brightness of which seems to intimate some peculiarity in their constitution, and in the circumstances attending them—nature thus exhibiting, on a broad scale, phenomena, which our little experiments can exhibit only in miniature; and of which those experiments sometimes lead to a happy explanation.

Whether the foregoing be such an

explanation, or wholly chimerical, in reference to the colour of the expanse, does not affect the expanse itself: whose existence, considered as an all-surrounding orb, may be real, although the assigned cause of its colour be demonstrably without foundation.

From the several phenomena above-mentioned, unless the evidence, supposed to arise from them, be futile, or inadmissible, there is reason to conclude, that an all-surrounding orb doth really exist; and that the blue expanse is that orb.

It is an observation of sir Isaac Newton, "that the main business of natural philosophy, is to argue from phenomena, without feigning hypotheses; and to deduce causes from effects, till we come to the very first cause, which certainly is not mechanical; and not only to unfold the mechanism of the world, but chiefly (among others that are mentioned) to resolve these, and such like questions, viz. Whence is it, that the sun and planets gravitate towards one another, without dense matter between them? and what hinders the fixed stars from falling upon one another?"*

Agreeably to the foregoing observation, the author of this memoir having adduced certain phenomena—(he hopes not impertinently)—has endeavoured, not only to argue from them, and to deduce the cause from the effects, but to resolve that great question, concerning the fixed stars and the heavenly bodies in general, namely, What hinders them from falling upon one another, and thereby involving the whole in ruin?—Whether his endeavours have been successfully applied, those who are conversant in subjects of this nature, are best qualified to judge.

NOTE.

* Optics, p. 344. 4th edit. 8vo.

In regard to the subject in hand, there seems to be a happy coincidence between phenomena and scripture; and, therefore, in further evidence of such an orb, and in evidence of several other orbs similar, and concentric to it, we may recur to scripture; several passages of which appear applicable to that purpose.

It seldom happens, that natural philosophy is made to borrow assistance from thence: but though scripture may not be intended to instruct in the philosophy of material nature, it may nevertheless give, and be intended to give, some hints of a constitution, or general system.

As the passages referred to, do not need any laboured comments, a very few observations will suffice to explain and apply them.

A remarkable one, and which may serve, in some measure, to elucidate the rest, is this passage, "It is God that buildeth his stories in the heavens."* In the English translation, which agrees with the French, with the Latin of Castellio, and of Tienpolios and Junius, the marginal reading, referring to stories, is spheres and ascensions. The former explanatory of stories: the latter, another word for the Hebrew; and which answers to the Greek of the Septuagint. All which, both separately and together, give the idea of a succession of concentric spheres, standing one above another, like the stories of a magnificent building: and, agreeably to that idea, though on very different principles, perhaps that of the Ptolemean system, the text has been explained.†

NOTES.

* Amos, ch. ix. 6.

† Qui ædificat in cælo (in summis cælis) ascensiones suas—et gradus suos: i. e. or-

This construction, which appears to be a natural one, gives a meaning to the text—a meaning illustrative of the omnipotence of the architect: and, at the same time that it elucidates some other texts relative to the subject, it is perfectly descriptive of the concentric spheres, or orbs, above mentioned.

The same idea is intimated in the short account, given of the creation, by Moses, who seems to refer to two firmaments.—The first he mentions, is limited to the earth and its atmosphere; and the other is that in which the fixed stars do appear.

It is this latter, that is here to be considered: concerning which, "God said, let there be lights in the firmament of heaven;" and concerning which, it is declared, that "God set those lights in the firmament."‡

NOTES.

bes cœlestes, qui sunt velut gradus, unus supra alterum.

Poli synopsis in loc.

‡ Gen. ch. i. v. 14. 17.

Mr. Whiston, whose explanation of the Mosiac account of the creation, is natural, and in general seems to be just, makes no distinction of firmaments; which, however, he might have made, without injuring his theory; and which his own rules of interpretation would have justified.

The upper firmament, or the blue expanse, in which the heavenly bodies were "set," he might have included, together with them, in the work of the fourth day, or year, as it was rendered visible at the same time, by means of the earth's atmosphere, in that year, becoming transparent: which atmosphere, according to his theory, is the [other] firmament, or expanse. He supposes, the earth had no rotation about

The radix of the Hebrew word, translated firmament, is applied to God's spreading out the sky, to the firmament, or spacious extension, which is spread abroad between the earth and the clouds: as also to that other firmament, or spacious extension, which is above the clouds, where the heavenly bodies are placed.*

The original word † means not only firmament, but expanse, or spacious extension. In the English translation, and also in the Greek of the Septuagint, it conveys the idea of something firm and solid. Some other translations adopt the other acceptation of it. It seems to include both; and, in that case, means something solid and spaciouſly extended.

This explication of the term, connected with the appearance of this firmament, or expanse, gives us the intimation of a solid and spaciouſly extended orb, or sphere: and answers to one of the stories, which God built in the heavens.

“The heavens ‡ declare the glory of God: and the firmament sheweth his handy-work.”—Here is a clear distinction between the heavens and the firmament. By the former, are meant the heavenly bodies; and by the latter, the firmament, or expanse, in which they appear.

NOTES.

its axis, until the deluge; and, therefore, that its annual revolution round the sun, would occasion the antediluvian day to be exactly commensurate with the year.

* Taylor's Hebrew concordance, root 1826.

† The author of this memoir, being unacquainted with Hebrew, speaks of its meaning, from information only.

‡ Psalm xix. 1. Cælum hoc stellerum. Poli Syn.

The same observations may be applied to this, as have been applied to the foregoing passage.

Another, and more descriptive of such an orb, is the following one: “halt thou spread out the sky, which is strong, and as a molten looking-glass?” || or, as a mirror made of polished metal. The forementioned French and Latin versions, and the Greek of the Septuagint, do, in this passage, all concur with the English, in representing the sky, as strong, firm, and solid. The Septuagint, especially, expresses this idea with peculiar force; as doth also the Hebrew original; which, in this place, compares the sky to a speculum, or mirror, “made of polished metal.” ¶

“The elegant simile of the mirror cannot be understood, without recollecting, that the mirrors of the ancients were made of metal highly polished.” §

This description shews the sky to be not only firm and solid, but remarkably adapted to reflect light;

NOTES.

|| Job xxxvii, 18. An expandificum eo (eum adjuvando) æthera, vel cælos, vel firmamentum? Hoc Græci vocant stereoma, quod firmum sit, et sua se velut virtute contineat, nulla re nixum. Æthera, vel cælos—qui solidissimi—qui sunt fortes; item, sicut speculum, fustum sive concretum.—Cælos, quibus firmitas tribuitur, Prov. viii. 28. unde poetæ cælum vocarunt chalkeon ouranon. “Specula fusa” intellige ex ære vel chalybe. Vox “fortes” soliditatem denotat.—Cælum—solidissimum, ut simul cohæreat. Poli Syn.

¶ Fustum, firmum, validum, instar fusi et consistentis metalli. Taylor's Hebrew concordance, root 783, 26.

§ Scott's Book of Job, page 354.

and so far intimates the cause, why it is visible. The sky here, as the firmament in a former clause, corresponds to one of the stories, which God built in the heavens.

There are other passages, which mention the spreading out, and stretching out, of the heavens; and this as declarative of the discretion, the understanding, the wisdom and power of God. But if it be a mere appearance, arising from the atmosphere-vapours, in a particular state, reflecting to us the blue rays of light; or if it be a mere circumstance attendant on, or resulting from, the atmosphere; and doth not indicate the real existence of what is declared to be thus spread or stretched out, it is then in a comparative view, but an inferior instance of wisdom and power: by no means such an instance of them as to entitle it to be mentioned in the climax, in which it is found—much less to be the head or principal member of it.

The following, which is one of those passages, and in the sense of which the aforementioned versions concur with the English, will shew the climax—"He hath made the earth by his power: he hath established the world by his wisdom; and hath stretched out the heavens by his understanding."^a—The earth, including its atmosphere—the world, or heavenly bodies collectively—the stretched-out heavens, or blue expanse. This remarkable climax, ascending in dignity and importance, shews, that the last and principal member of it, the expanse, is not only distinct from the earth, and the whole system of the heavenly bodies, but that it surpasses them in excellence; and that it is the capital, among the works of the visible crea-

tion. The description of it, and its rank in the climax, indicate, that it is the same firmament or expanse, above described; that the same observations are applicable to it; and therefore, that this, and the parallel passages alluded to, may be adduced in further evidence of its existence; and, consequently, of the existence of an all-surrounding orb.

The same idea is held forth in a part of the address of Wisdom in Prov. viii. 27—29: the sense of which may be expressed in the following translation: which differs from the common English translation, no further than the apprehended sense of the text makes necessary. A few explanatory notes are interspersed by way of illustration.

Wisdom speaking, says,—verse 27, "When God prepared the heavens [the whole system of visible nature] I was present. When (with respect to the heaven) he set an orb around the superficies of the depth [the immense space included within the orb: in reference to which, that space may be justly called the depth]: v. 28. When he gave solidity and strength to (that orb) the sky above; and when he established its fountains of waters [its interior and exterior atmospheres]: v. 29. When (with respect to the terraqueous globe) he gave to the sea his decree, that its waters should not pass their bounds: and when he appointed the foundations of the earth, then I was by him."

If this translation and illustration, be just, the text, which only gives the great out-lines, or capital parts of creation, strongly impresses the idea, that there is an orb surrounding all visible nature; that it is strong and solid; and that it is furnished with an interior and exterior atmosphere; all which is further descriptive of one of the stories, that God built in the heavens.

NOTE.

Gen. ch. I. ver. 15.

In support of the translation and illustration here given, I had collected, in a marginal note, a number of authorities from Pool's synopsis : but it being somewhat long, and those who are qualified to judge in the matter, being able to recur to the synopsis, it is omitted.

Beside those authorities, and in further support of the translation, may be adduced the 148th psalm : where are enumerated, in a regular succession, the heavenly bodies, which compose the material system :—the sun, moon, stars, heavens, and waters above the heavens.

The distinct notice there taken of those bodies, and the arrangement of them according to nature, make it probable, that by the heavens (in that passage as in some others) are intended the orbs, that have been described. And, in regard to the waters above the heavens, they do plainly intimate, that those orbs are each, like the earth, environed by an atmosphere replenished with waters, to answer the same purposes with the atmospheric waters of the earth.—Of that passage, there will presently be occasion to take some further notice.

If some happy genius, well versed in Hebrew, and the philosophy of nature, would arrange in due order and faithfully translate, those parts of scripture, that in any respect refer to the constitution and economy of nature, and this with a view of reconciling them to nature, we should probably find, that scripture philosophy and natural philosophy would mutually illustrate each other. Such a translation and illustration would be a real acquisition to science ; and might lead to discoveries, of which at present we can form no idea.

One quotation more, amidst a further number that might be offered, will close the evidence.

“ The heaven, and the heaven of heavens, and the earth also, are the

Lord's.” “ Thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their hosts : the earth, and the seas, and all things in them.” “ Praise him, ye sun and moon, ye stars, ye heavens of heavens, and ye waters above the heavens.”*

There are other passages of like import : but these containing all the varieties of expression I have observed concerning the material heavens, or system of nature, may be thought sufficient.

That the material heavens are here intended, there can be no room to doubt, as they are mentioned in connexion with the earth—with their hosts—with the earth and seas, and the things contained in them—with the sun, moon, and stars—and with the waters above the heavens. They are evidently considered here as forming, in conjunction with those other bodies, one vast system ; whose several constituent parts are, in the last clause of the quoted text, ranged in the order, in which it is natural to speak of them ; and in which, reckoning from the centre of our solar system, they do in reality exist.

Here is a plain discrimination between the heaven ; the heaven of heavens ; and the heavens of heavens : which must imply some essential difference between them. To suppose the contrary is to confound language and involve it in uncertainty. It would be to suppose those expressions void of meaning ; and would be treating scripture with the indecency to which no other book, appearing to be dictated merely by common sense, would be entitled. The expressions, then, necessarily imply some essential difference in the objects of them : and what that difference

NOTE.

* Deut. x. 14. Neh. ix. 6. Ps. cxlviii. 3. 4.

is, the quotation from Amos points out. The gradation, respecting the heavens, is remarkable; and, without recurring to any thing else, suggests the idea of stories in them, or beyond the orb, as above explained. The series too, in which they are mentioned—the sun, moon, stars, heavens, and waters above the heavens—and the place they hold in the series, suggest the same idea, which is strengthened and confirmed by the express declaration, that in fact there were such stories built by the Almighty: or, as it is otherwise expressed, that “he made them with all their hosts.”

The last member of the series, is the waters above the heavens. These waters, if we argue from analogy, seem to indicate and to be descriptive of atmospheres, that surround those orbs, amply provided, like our atmosphere, with waters, and other elements, proper for the support of animal and vegetable life; and for other important purposes.

The number of those stories, or concentric orbs, seems indefinite. The gradation clearly denotes a plurality of them; each having its host—its suns, and planets, or systems. The ample spaces between them, (like the space infolded by the orb, to which we more immediately belong) are beautified by those glorious bodies, which, within each of the orbs, constitute systems innumerable, serving the like noble purposes, which our solar system is calculated to serve, and doth serve.

The foregoing passages of scripture, thus interpreted, appear to agree, in their result, with the phenomena above mentioned; and, like them, to be naturally, and without force, applicable to the purpose, for which they were produced. Such agreement, it is apprehended, shews the propriety and fitness of the interpretation: as, on the other hand, a disagreement with phenomena would

prove the unsuitness or falsity of any interpretation; and manifest it to be totally inadmissible.

When scripture and phenomena thus agree, they mutually elucidate each other; and in that case, what is deducible from the one, is confirmed by the other. As, therefore, those passages agree with the phenomena, they both together corroborate the evidence, which each afforded separately, of the existence of an interior orb.

With respect to the exterior orbs, the evidence for them must rest on scripture. There can be no phenomena, from which to deduce their reality; unless the aperture, or gap abovementioned, with what it discloses, be admitted as such.

The phenomena, exhibited thro’ the aperture, are indeed remarkable; and may indicate an exterior orb, or the bright region between that and the orb, which more immediately surrounds us: in which bright region, as well as in some other of the lucid spaces in the expanse, there seems to be an uninterrupted and perpetual day.

If, in fact, there be such an aperture, the same appearances with those from which it was deduced, may indicate other apertures in the other lucid spaces, and in the Milky Way: to the ascertaining of which, the observations of the ingenious Mr. Herschell, with his large magnifiers, should be think proper to apply them to that purpose, might happily conduce.

Among the purposes, for which those apertures were intended, if they really exist, this may be one—to give the intra-orbic and trans-orbic systems some intimation of each other, and of their mutual relation; and to afford them a glimpse of the grand, complicated system, of which they are parts.

The immensity of those orbs, doth not invalidate their existence: on the D

contrary, immensity is so congenial to our ideas of the Creator, and his works, that it affords, as applied to those orbs, an internal presumptive proof of their reality.

On the supposition of their existence, what an assemblage of glorious bodies do they exhibit—peopled by an unlimited variety of beings—and arranged in a gradation beautiful and astonishing! Trace the gradation, from the smaller to the larger planets, circling around their sun, and with him forming a magnificent system! Trace it from that system, through successive systems, to their surrounding orb! Trace it from orb to orb, and through their several hosts of systems, up to the superior orb, and its ambient atmosphere! Trace it in every possible direction, from the common centre to the utmost verge of that atmosphere, and the most wonderful phenomena, in a rapture-inspiring succession, strike the mental eye!—impressing the idea of a complete whole, self-balanced, and held in union by universal gravitation!—exhibiting a superlatively grand system of systems, embosomed in the infinite, all-comprehending essence of the Creator!

Grand and magnificent as this system is, there may be another, incomparably more so, composed of myriads of such systems, governed by the same laws, and, with it, surrounded by an immense orb, to counter-balance the gravitation of the included systems.

That other system may be a part of a still more splendid one, formed on the same plan; and this latter may enter into the composition of other systems, beyond comparison superior to it; each succeeding system, in a regular progression, rising in dignity and splendor. And thus we may go on, enlarging our idea of those systems, indefinitely.

What is there, to check that idea,

when we consider the infinity of space, in connexion with the infinite wisdom, power, and benevolence of the author of nature—and, at the same time, reflect, that infinite space is the proper and only adequate theatre, for the display of those perfections, and of such a character?

This hypothesis, by introducing solid orbs, may possibly, on a superficial view of it, be thought a revival of the ancient or Ptolemaean system, and to grow out of it. But on the contrary, it will be found, upon examination, totally inconsistent with it; and to be, in reality, the offspring of the new philosophy; derived from the grand principle of that philosophy—universal gravitation.

Upon the whole—the hypothesis, so far as it relates to the existence of the interior orb, immediately surrounding the visible heavens, the author of it apprehends to be a probable deduction from the principles of gravitation; and to be deducible also from phenomena, and scripture. He offers it for consideration, with the hope, that, if it should appear not wholly groundless, it may be productive of a happier illustration.



A theory of lightning, and thunder-storms, by Andrew Oliver esq. of Salem in the State of Massachusetts.

IT has been generally, and, considering the phenomena themselves, very naturally, supposed, that the electric charges, which are exhibited in repeated flashes of lightning during a thunder storm, are previously accumulated in the vapours which constitute the cloud; and that these vapours, when by any means they become either over-charged with electric matter, or are deprived of their

natural quantities of it*, discharge their surplusage to, or receive the necessary supplies from, either the earth or the neighbouring clouds, in successive explosions, till an equilibrium is restored between them. But I shall endeavour, in the following pages, to prove, that these charges reside, not in the cloud, or vapours of which it consists, but in the air which sustains them—and that, previous to the formation of the cloud, or even the ascent of the vapours of which it is formed. But in order to convey my ideas, upon this subject, with perspicuity, I find it necessary to introduce them with a quotation from dr. Franklin's letters on electricity, in which the doctor compares water, whether in its natural state, or rarefied into vapours, to a sponge; and the electric fluid, in connexion with it, to water applied to the sponge.

"When a sponge, says he, is somewhat condensed, by being squeezed between the fingers, it will not receive and retain so much water, as when it is in its more loose and open state. If more squeezed and condensed, some of the water will come out of its inner parts, and flow on the surface. If the pressure of the fingers be entirely removed, the sponge will not only resume what was lately forced out, but attract an additional quantity. As the sponge, in its rarer state, will naturally attract and absorb more water—and, in its denser state, will naturally attract and absorb less water—we may call the quantity it absorbs in either state, its natural quantity, the state being considered."

NOTE.

* A body is said to be electrically charged, whenever it has either more or less than its natural quantity of electric matter.

The doctor then supposes "that what the sponge is to water, the same is water to the electric fluid;—that, when a portion of water is in its common dense state, it can hold no more electric fluid, than it has; if any be added, it spreads upon the surface." He adds, "when the same portion of water is rarefied into vapour, and forms a cloud, it is then capable of receiving and absorbing a much greater quantity, as there is room for each particle to have an electric atmosphere. Thus water, in its rarefied state, or in the form of a cloud, will be in a negative state of electricity; it will have less than its natural quantity, that is, less than it is naturally capable of attracting and absorbing in that state*."

The foregoing passages I have copied *verbatim* from that celebrated electrician; as I purpose, in the course of this essay, to avail myself of his idea of the sponge, in order to illustrate a different theory of thunder clouds, which I now beg leave, (though with diffidence of my own judgment, and with all due deference to that of so great a man) to substitute in the room of the foregoing; which, I must confess, at first sight, carries great appearance of probability with it, and is highly corroborated by the curious and beautiful experiment the doctor made with the silver can, bra's chain, and lock of cotton†.

But in reading doctor Priestley's history of electricity, some thoughts of Signor Beccaria occurred, which satisfied me, that this hypothesis, however ingenious and plausible, was insufficient for the purpose of accounting for the rise and pheno-

NOTE.

* Franklin's letters, page 119.

† Page 121.

mena of thunder storms; the frequent extent, and violence of which, seem to require a more general cause, than that hinted above, to supply them with sufficient quantities of electric matter.

"Considering the vast quantity of electric fire, that appears in the most simple thunder storms," says doctor Priestley†. "Signor Beccaria thinks it impossible, that any cloud, or number of clouds, should ever contain it all, so as either to discharge or receive it. Besides, during the progress and increase of the storm, though the lightning frequently struck to the earth, the same clouds were the next moment ready to make a still greater discharge, and his apparatus continued to be as much affected as ever. The clouds must consequently have received, at one place, the moment that a discharge was made from them in another.

Signor Beccaria accounts for this vast exhibition of electric fire from a thunder cloud, by supposing, that some parts of the earth may become more highly charged with the electric fluid than others, and that great quantities of it do sometimes rush out of particular parts, and rise through the air, into the higher regions of the atmosphere; other parts of the earth becoming casually destitute of their natural quantity of the fluid at the same time, and ready to receive it: that a chain of clouds nearly contiguous, or a single cloud, extending from one of these regions to another, in an opposite state, might serve as a conductor or conductors, to restore the electric equilibrium between them, which would equally cause thunder and lightning

in both regions, and throughout the intermediate clouds*. Here doctor Priestley justly observes, that "the greatest difficulty, attending this theory of the origin of thunder storms, relates to the collection and insulation of electric matter, within the body of the earth." With regard to the collection, the doctor observes, that his author "has nothing particular to say:" nor indeed, without a previous insulation of those parts of the earth, which may be concerned in the production of the phenomena, can any such collection take place. Now if we consider, that, in order to have two regions of the earth thus insulated, and of sufficient dimensions, one to supply, and the other to receive the quantities of electric fire, discharged during one thunder storm of any extent and continuance, the parts insulated must not be superficial regions, but must reach to a considerable depth; we must suppose, with doctor Priestley, "that the electric matter, which forms and animates the thunder cloud, issues from places far below the surface of the earth, and that it buries itself there†." But, with deference to the judgment of that unwearied friend to science, I apprehend, that such an insulation is hardly consistent with that distribution of conductors, especially of water, which provident nature has made through all parts of our globe; the highest mountains being furnished with internal springs and fountains, and watered externally by rivulets, which derive their origin from condensing mists or melting snows upon their summits: while the surface of the earth in general, not excepting the most sandy deserts, affords supplies of water, to those who will be

NOTE.

† Priestley's history of electricity, page 325.

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* *ibid.*

† Priestley, page 335.

at the pains of digging for it. If then the vapours, which constitute the cloud, are, of themselves, incapable of furnishing such quantities of electric matter as are necessary for the repeated discharges in a severe thunder storm, as Signor Beccaria thinks they are, and as seems to me indubitable; and if the insulations of large portions of the surface or exterior parts of the earth, which are absolutely necessary to support Beccaria's hypothesis, cannot take place; and, how they can in our terraqueous mass, is difficult to conceive, consistently with the hitherto discovered properties of the electric fluid) we must seek for some other substance in nature, which may be capable of affording those reiterated supplies of that powerful element, which are usually exhibited in a thunder storm. This, I presume, we shall find in the atmosphere over our heads; not in the vapours which float therein, but in the air itself which sustains them.

Air is by electricians justly classed with electric substances, as it possesses the same general properties, in common with others of that denomination, particular instances of which may occur in the following pages; wherein I shall endeavour to prove,

I. That the electric capacity of air is lessened by condensation.

II. That this capacity is increased by heat.

Presuming, that by air I here mean the fluid in its common compressible state, with us, near the surface of the earth; and by its electric capacity, that state of it, which disposes it under any circumstances whatever, "to attract, absorb and retain," that doctor Franklin calls its natural quantity, or the quantity which is natural to it in that state.

I. I shall endeavour to prove, that electric capacity of air is lessened by condensation.

That a change of density in air produces also a change in its electric capacity (as above defined,) follows from some experiments of monsieur de Faye and doctor Priestley, the former of whom found, upon repeated trials, that no electricity could be excited by the friction of a glass tube, in which the air was condensed*. The doctor, repeating the experiments with some variation, found, that, when one additional atmosphere was forced into the tube, the electricity, excited by rubbing it, was scarcely discernible. Now, though the effect was a suspension of the operation of the excited tube without, the cause was evidently the condensed state of the air within; which may be accounted for, if we consider, that, although it is certain, from many experiments, that glass is absolutely impermeable to the electric fluid, inasmuch that it cannot force its way through a pane of glass, or the sides of a phial, without breaking the glass, (as was the case in those spontaneous discharges of several of the jars in the electrical battery mentioned by doctor Priestley†) yet it is as certain, that this impermeability of the glass to the fluid itself, is no obstruction to the operation of that repellent power, upon which the visible effects of this element seem principally to depend; which power undeniably acts from one side of the glass, through the very substance of it, upon the same fluid on the other side, provided there be any other substance on that side, capable of receiving it, when thus repelled.

This is the case in the Leyden experiment, in every form, in which it can be made; the charge given to one side of the glass, repelling and throwing off an equal quantity of the

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* Page 30. † Page 489.

electric fluid from the opposite surface, through the non-electric coating, in contact with it; nor can any charge be given to either side, without a proportional discharge from the other. In like manner, when an uncoated tube is excited by friction, a quantity of the fluid, equal to that which is excited and condensed upon the outer surface, is thrown out from the inner, provided there is any substance within, in a capacity to receive and absorb it, without which no excitation can take place, "A glass tube, out of which the air is exhausted, discovers no signs of electricity outwards*;" there being no substance within capable of receiving and absorbing the fluid from the inner surface, which, though repelled from it inwards during the operation, yet returns to it again instantly, upon a cessation of the action of the rubber without. But upon a readmission of air, the excitation is easy, and is attended with the usual effects. Air, then, which is the only substance admitted (excepting perhaps a few straggling vapours which float in it) receives and absorbs a sufficient quantity of the electric fluid from the inner surface, to permit an excitation of the tube, which contains it. But as we have seen, that air, when condensed within, prevents the visible effects of an excitation, equally with a total vacuity, we may adopt the idea of doctor Franklin, *mutatis mutandis*, and conclude, that "what the sponge is to water, the same is air to the electric fluid:" at least that this capacity of air is lessened by condensation, in a manner, not indeed perfectly similar, but, somewhat analogous to that, in which the capacity of a sponge, to receive

and retain water, it lessened by compression. Agreeably to which idea, the condensed air within the tube, having its electric capacity filled, and even crowded, with the electric matter, will receive none from the inner surface, which, on the contrary, is thereby prevented from being forced out of it; without which, none can be forced into, or condensed upon the outer surface, so as to exhibit any signs of electricity; as observed before.

11. I shall endeavour to prove, that the electric capacity of air is encreased by heat.

This also appears probable, at least, from the above-cited experiments of doctor Priestley; for, after the air, in his tube, had had this capacity so far diminished by condensation, as not to permit an excitation without, that capacity, together with the consequent excitability of the tube, was restored, by the action of heat upon the included air, "Repeating my attempts (says he) to excite the tube above mentioned, I found, that, after very hard rubbing, it began to act a little, and that its virtue increased with the labour. Thinking it might be the warmth which produced this effect, I held the tube to the fire, and found, that, when it was pretty hot, it would act almost as well, as when it contained no more than its usual quantity of air*."

In page 553, doctor Priestley tells us, that some of his electrical friends were of opinion, "that the reason, why a tube, with condensed air in it, cannot be excited, is, that the dense air within prevents the electric fluid from being forced out of the inside of the tube, without which none can be forced into the out-

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* Priestley's history of electricity, page 550.

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* Page 551.

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"side; and that heating the tube makes the air within less electrical;" that is, (as I conceive their meaning) puts it in a capacity, to receive and absorb more of the electric fluid, than it could otherwise do in that condensed state. The doctor indeed asks, by way of objection to the foregoing solution,—“How, upon this principle, can a solid stick of glass be excited?” To which I would answer, that possibly, when a solid stick of glass is excited, as much of the electric fluid may be drawn out of one side of it, as is thrown into or condensed upon the other: if so, although it may shew equal signs of electricity on both sides, yet one side will be in a positive, the other in a negative state; when it will exactly resemble the curious stone, called the Tourmalin, by some *lapis electricus*, which, doctor Priestley says,* “has always, at the same time, a positive and a negative electricity; one of its sides being in one state, and the other in the opposite;” which does not depend upon the external form “of the stone.” But the truth of this solution must be determined by future experiments.

That the electric state of the air is liable to be affected by heat, is further evident, from a course of experiments, which were made by the abbé Mazeas, with an apparatus, that was constructed solely with a view of determining the electricity of the atmosphere, anno 1753†. With this apparatus, the abbé observed, that, from the 17th of June, when he began his experiments, the electricity of the air was sensibly felt every day, from sun rise till seven or eight o'clock in the evening, when the weather was dry; but that, in the driest nights of that summer he could

discover no signs of electricity in the air, nor till the morning, when the sun began to appear above the horizon; and that “they vanished again in the evening, about half an hour after sun-set;” and further “that the strongest common electricity of the atmosphere, during the summer, was perceived in the month of July, on a very dry day, the heavens being very clear, and the sun extremely hot.”

Now, as this electricity of the air was sensible only during day-light, no electricity being discoverable therein, even in the driest nights, and as the air exhibited the strongest signs of electricity, when the sun shone extremely hot; is not the conclusion unavoidable, that heat somehow affects the electric capacity of air, either enlarging it, and thereby disposing the air to attract, receive and absorb greater quantities of electric matter, than it is capable of absorbing in its natural state; or superadding, to its natural quantity, more than it can absorb, and thereby disposing it to throw off the redundancy upon any objects, which may be in a situation to receive it? One or the other seems necessarily to follow: but the former is most agreeable to doctor Priestley's experiment of the condensed air, in the tube above mentioned; and is perfectly consonant with the observations of doctor Franklin, Mr. Kinnersley, and others, that thunder clouds are generally in the negative state of electricity*. But more upon this head hereafter. I would however

NOTE.

*Epitome of Phil. Transf. Gent. Mag. Sept. 1773, page 447. Mr. Henley thinks, that cold electrifies the atmosphere positively; and thence conjectures, that heat electrifies it negatively. His conclusions are founded upon a course of experiments.

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*Page 299. †Page 342.

observe here, that many, and perhaps all other, electric substances, even the most firm and solid, as well as air, are liable to have their electric capacities thus diversified by heat, more particularly the Tourmalin above mentioned. But as, in treating of the properties of this stone, doctor Priestley has thought it deserving of a distinct section in his electric history, to that I shall refer the reader, for a particular account of them†; wherein he will find a discovery, made by messrs. Canton and Wilfon, that these properties are not peculiar to the Tourmalin, but that many gems have a natural disposition to afford the same appearances: whence we may conclude, as above, by analogy, that all electric substances are more or less affected in like manner, by the same cause. But, to return to the subject:

If, from the foregoing considerations, the reader should be satisfied, that the electric capacity of air, in its condensed state, in the lower regions of the atmosphere, is liable to be diminished by a further condensation, and that, *ceteris paribus*, it is increased by heat, and *vice versa*; the solution of the phenomena of thunder and lightning, to his satisfaction, upon electrical principles, will perhaps be no difficult task.

For, let us conceive a region of the atmosphere, extending over a large tract of country, to be rarefied and heated, during a hot summer's day, not only by the passage of the sun's direct rays through it, and by the reflexion of those rays from the surface of the earth into it; but chiefly by the communication of the heat acquired by that surface: the electric capacity of that region of air would be increased, both on account of the heat it undergoes, and of the rarefaction consequent upon that heat: it will then have less than its natural

quantity, or the quantity it is naturally disposed to receive and absorb in that state; it will consequently be, in the language of electricians, negatively electrified, or in a craving state, requiring and forcing supplies from all substances capable of affording them, provided it be itself in a condition to receive them. But however craving, it cannot receive those supplies from the neighbouring regions of the atmosphere, while those regions severally remain in the state of pure air, (even supposing the latter to possess more than their natural quantities, and thereby as much disposed to impart, as the former is to receive them) without the intervention of non-electric conductors; and that, owing to the impermeability of air, as such, to the electric fluid. This I shall endeavour, 1. To illustrate by experiments made with glass. 2. To prove by experiments made upon air itself.

1. If a pane of glass be coated on both sides, by the application of plates of tin to them, the glass may be charged in the same manner, as the Leyden phial: when, after the removal of the plates, (no discharge having previously taken place,) both sides of the glass will remain charged, one positively, the other negatively; the former having more than its natural quantity, the latter being proportionably deficient, and in a craving state. These states both surfaces will obstinately maintain for a long time: nor do I know of any method of restoring the electric equilibrium between them, but either to immerse the pane in water or some other non-electric fluid, which will do it instantly, and silently; or to re-apply the metalline coatings to both sides, as they were placed at first, with a good conductor introduced between them, which will answer the same purpose, and be attended with an explosion, or smart

spark and in a situation to attract where, it will, by itself, furnish it to a non-vapours, rounding impinging the two both to the

It is evident from experiment, that it will reside in the main after Secondly, have a v to give, the and there equilibrium which is served at a condition application with a coil, lastly, the violent properties of glass, to other to and the they can intervene.

2. I shall experimentally shew that if both parts of the same pane of glass are charged, and that they are precisely equal. Messrs. Franklin, having been galled to of experiment the electric in the same given making Vol.

spark and snap ; or lastly, to place it in a situation where it may be exposed to air replete with moist vapours, where, after some time, the vapours will, by condensing upon each side, furnish it with a moisture equivalent to a non-electric coating, while the vapours, which remain in the surrounding air, will, by continually impinging upon, and receding from the two surfaces, at length restore both to their natural state.

It is evident, from the foregoing experiment, first, that the charges reside in the glass itself, as they remain after the coatings are removed. Secondly, that the opposite sides have a very strong propensity, one to give, the other to receive the fluid, and thereby to restore the electric equilibrium between themselves ; which is done with violence, as observed above, when they are put in a condition of doing it by the re-application of the metalline coatings, with a conductor between them ; and lastly, that notwithstanding the violent propensity, in the side of the glass, to restore themselves and each other to their natural electric states, and the small distance between them, they can never effect it, without the intervention of non-electric conductors.

2. I shall now shew, by other experiments, that different regions or strata of air may become charged, both positively and negatively, in the same manner as the sides of the pane of glass were in the foregoing ; and that the effects of such charges are precisely the same.

Messrs. Wilkie and Æpinus at Berlin, having the hint naturally suggested to them, by a previous course of experiments, endeavoured to give the electrical shock by means of air, in the same manner, in which it may be given by glass ; " in which, after making several attempts," says Dr. Vol. III. No. III.

Priestley*, "they at length succeeded, by suspending large boards of wood, covered with tin, with the flat sides towards one another, and at some inches asunder. For they found that upon electrifying one of the boards positively, the other was always negative. But the discovery was made complete and indisputable, by a person's touching one of the plates with one hand, and bringing his other hand to the other plate ; for he then received a shock through his body, exactly like that of the Leyden experiment. With this plate of air, as we may call it, they made a variety of experiments. The two metal plates, being in opposite states, strongly attracted one another, and would have rushed together if they had not been kept asunder by the strings. Sometimes the electricity of both would be discharged by a strong spark between them, as when a pane of glass bursts, with too great a charge. A finger, put between them, promoted the discharge, and felt the shock. If an eminence was made on either of the plates, the self-discharge would always be made through it ; and a pointed body, fixed upon either of them, prevented their being charged at all."

To the foregoing relation of the experiments themselves, I shall subjoin the conclusions drawn from them, by the curious electricians who made them, in the words of doctor Priestley, viz. "The state of these two plates, they", Wilkie and Æpinus, "excellently observe, justly represents the state of the clouds and the earth" (and perhaps of disse-

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* Page 242.

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rent clouds, at various heights, one over another) “ during a thunder storm; the clouds being always in one state, and the earth in the opposite; while the body of air between them, answers the same purpose, as the small plate of air between the boards, or the plate of glass between the two metal coatings, in the Leyden experiment. The phenomenon of lightning is the bursting of the plate of air by a spontaneous discharge, which is always made through eminences; and the bodies, through which the discharge is made, are violently “ shocked.”

As in the former experiment, made with the pane of glass, the charges both positive and negative, reside in the glass itself, and not in the coatings, those remaining, after these are removed; so in the latter, which is completely analogous to it, the charges are accumulated, and reside in the air situated between the boards, and not in their tin linings, which serve only as conductors, to distribute the fluid equally over, or to convey it equally from, the whole surface of air which is limited by, and in contact with them, on either side; whereby the whole of each surface may be equally charged, at the same time, or discharged by the same explosion.

If two or more regions of the atmosphere, when free from vapours, become thus differently electrical in their state and capacities, which, that they may, from the heat and consequent rarefaction in a summer's day, we have already seen, and perhaps from a variety of other causes to us unknown—and if, from the contrary currents of air, which frequently take place, at different heights, they should perchance become situated one over or adjacent to another, like strata of minerals within the bowels of the earth—what the metalline coating is

to the pane of glass, or the tinned boards to the plate of air, in the last experiment, the same would clouds formed and floating therein, be to these regions of air; the electric equilibrium between which might be restored through their intervention either by spontaneous discharge through the pure air between them in severe flashes of lightning, or through the falling drops of rain which in their successive descent, form a chain of natural conductors between one region of the air and another and betwixt each of them and the earth; the passage of the electric fluid through which, would also be attended with lightning and thunder, but not so severe as when the discharge is made through the pure air; the most fatal lightning usually preceding the fall of the rain.

It is not uncommon, during the rise and progress of a thunder storm to see different sets of clouds, at various heights in the atmosphere, moving promiscuously in all directions as though they were impelled hither and thither by contending winds when probably the whole phenomenon arises from the different electrical states of the regions of the air, in which they float; as they approach one or other of which, they are attracted or repelled, and move accordingly, communicating, receiving or transmitting the electric fluid, or from them respectively, as they may be either deficient of their natural quantity, or possess a redundancy of this fluid. And as in the experiment of messrs. Wilkie and Æpin mentioned above, the two tin plates with the boards they covered, would have rushed together, had they not been kept asunder by the strings, these clouds, floating freely in air and being at liberty to act upon every impulse, gradually coalesce restoring the electric equilibrium

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Whatever evaporation that the bodies is vapours, higher regions where the into cloud dense, descending rain upon from where

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Ignorant these operations in which natural to

* It is common forms, the chiefly d cloud; very at all take and the ea

† See and Chan the word,

the neighbouring atmosphere by repeated discharges, as they unite*; till at length they form one dense mass of humid vapours, which precipitating in a heavy shower of rain, refresh the thirsty soil, leaving the atmosphere above in a homogenous electric state, calm and serene.

How these clouds are generated, formed, and adapted to those grand purposes in the economy of nature, is next to be considered: in prosecution of which enquiry, I shall submit the following observations to the candour of the reader.

Whatever the immediate cause of evaporation may be, it is certain that the superficial moisture of all bodies is perpetually exhaling in vapours, which ascend into the higher regions of the atmosphere, where they gather and are formed into clouds, and at length re-condense, descending in dew, mist, or rain upon the surface of the earth, from whence they sprang.

These vapours are either detached in streams from the humid ground, by the influence of the sun, or thrown off by the perspirations of these infinite multitudes of animals and plants, which cover the face of the earth†, or supplied by evaporation, from the ocean, or other grand collections of water.

Ignorant as we are of the nature of these operations, and of the manner in which they are performed, it is natural to suppose, that the vapours

NOTES.

* It is certain, that, in most thunder forms, the flashes of lightning are chiefly discharged from cloud to cloud; very few, and frequently none at all taking place between the cloud and the earth.

† See Hales's vegetable statics, and Chambers's Cyclopaedia, under the word, perspiration.

themselves ascend in the same electric state, whether positive, neutral or negative, with the substances from which they arise. Accordingly, signior Beccaria, in making some of his experiments, observed, that "steam, rising from an electrified eolipile, diffuses itself with the same uniformity, with which thunder clouds spread themselves and swell into arches, extending itself towards any conducting substance‡." This stream then was electrified, as well as the eolipile, from whence it proceeded. The sea must necessarily be supposed, in common with the whole terraqueous mass, to contain just its natural quantity of the electric fluid, and no more: we may therefore conclude, that both the vapours which arise immediately from it, and the air which sustains them, and from its situation enjoys a more equal temperature, than that over the land, are in the same electrical state with the sea itself, containing neither more nor less than their natural quantity.

Considering the vast extent of the ocean, and the comparatively small degree of moisture of which the dry land is susceptible, we may conclude, that a very small proportion of the clouds, which are formed in the atmosphere are exhaled from the latter, and that the ocean is the grand source from whence they principally derive their origin. Our senses accordingly convince us that the sea air is always replete with moist vapours, even when its natural transparency is not in the least interrupted by them. Hence in a hot summer's day, when the wind suddenly shifts from west to east, we immediately perceive a chill from the sea-breeze; and sometimes long before the thermometer indicates a

NOTE.

‡ Priestley's history, page 327.

change in the temperature of the atmosphere. These vapours, when they first arise from the sea, are generally so nearly of the same density with the surrounding and contiguous air, that the rays of light, in passing through them, undergo no sensible change in their refraction; they are therefore at first generally invisible; but when the weather is extremely cold, and the air, of consequence, uncommonly dense, they are always visible, and appear like a steam arising from boiling water*. Not that vapours ascend most copiously in the coldest seasons, which seems contrary both to reason and experience; but that the different densities of the air, next the surface of the water, and of the vapours which ascend in it, render the latter visible, by the irregular refractions of the rays of light in passing through them. For the same reason, our breath is visible in the winter, but not in warm weather.

Let us now suppose the atmosphere, on a summer's morning, to be all around in a homogenous state, as indicated by a cloudless sky and a dead calm. As the sun rises on the eastern coasts of America, and warms and rarefies the atmosphere eastward, the rarefied air naturally ascends, and a current of air as naturally flows thither from the opposite quarter, which is but just emerging from the cool shades of night, to supply its place: the consequence of which is a light westerly breeze. As the sun ascends higher, the air over the land becomes heated and rarefied, both by the passage of the sun's direct and reflected rays through it, and by the reverberation of the heat, acquired from

NOTE.

* This is always the appearance in a clear, still morning, when the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer is at 0, or below it.

them by the surface of the earth; till at length that whole region of the atmosphere has its electrical capacity enlarged, thereby becoming negatively electrified, or in a crav- ing state, as observed before. On the contrary, the sun's rays, which fall upon the surface of the sea, especially when ruffled by wind, chiefly enter that transparent medium, in which they are refracted and irre- coverably absorbed; very few, com- paratively, being reflected; whence very little heat can be reverberated from that element to warm the in- cumbent air, which is sensibly affected only by the passage of the sun's direct rays through it, unless the weather be calm and the surface very smooth†. Besides, it is colder at sea than ashore, in the summer season, when, and when only thunder showers are fre-

NOTE.

† In a perfect calm, the surface of the sea acts like a mirror upon the sun's rays, strongly reverberating them back into the atmosphere, when the heat is as sensible upon water as upon the dry land. But whenever that surface becomes agitated and broken by the force of wind acting upon it, those rays, by perpetually impinging upon an infinite variety of new formed, fluctuating surfaces, undergo innumerable refractions, in all directions, whereby they are absorbed and lost within the fluid mass, in some proportion to the violence of the agitation. Accordingly, when the weather is serene and calm, the surface, like a looking-glass, reflects the phenomena of the sky over head: upon the first springing up of a breeze, it changes to a light blue, which deepens to a fine sky-blue as the wind rises, to a deeper sea-green in a brisk gale, and to a sullen black- ness in a storm, excepting where the waves are interspersed with white heads of foam, which, by contrast, only render the scene more gloomy.

quent, and indeed warmer in winter, for the following reason, viz. as the sea is every moment changing its surface, neither heat nor cold can affect it so soon as they do the surface of the earth, which continues the same.

The air over the land, when thoroughly heated and rarefied, naturally ascends into the higher regions, while the denser air from the sea, necessarily flows in, and takes its place. Hence, probably, the easterly winds which usually spring up near the middle of the day, after a sultry morning.

This body of warm air ascends till it arrives at that region of the atmosphere in which thunder clouds are formed; while the vapours, which are waisted to the continent by the eastern current, being attracted by this now superior air, which demands a supply of the electric fluid, continually ascend, till they arrive at it, leaving the denser air, with which they were first connected, behind. As these vapours move freely through and mix with air, they easily insinuate themselves between the particles of that fluid, and unite with it, whereby every particle of air, which, from the causes aforesaid, is become in any degree destitute of the quantity of electric matter which is natural to it, in its present state, may and will attract and attach to itself one or more particles of this vapour, and thereby furnish itself with a non-electric coating, and thus become qualified to receive from any neighbouring object such a supply of the electric fluid, as its state may demand.

Thus provided, this body of air, together with the vapours which are more or less attached to every particle of it, will constitute a dense cloud; and as the air itself was before (by supposition) in a craving or negative state of electricity—and as the vapours are presumed to have arisen from the ocean in their natural or

neutral state, the whole body of a cloud formed by them, will still be in a negative state, and thereby constitute a complete thunder cloud; which, when formed, if uniform in density and texture, should it be attracted within the striking distance from any object standing upon the earth, would have its electric equilibrium restored at once by a flash of lightning darting from the earth: or, should it pass near another cloud in a different state, the flash would restore an equilibrium between the two clouds.

That a body of air, either in a positive or negative state of electricity, while pure, should be incapable of communicating its surplusage of the electric element to, or receiving supplies from the neighbouring regions, though in a contrary state—and that the same air, when replete with watry vapours, may be restored to an equilibrium throughout its whole extent, by an instantaneous discharge—may yet require some further evidence, before it be admitted.

But, as the particles both of air and vapour, are severally too minute to fall under our notice, I shall endeavour to illustrate by analogy, what cannot be directly demonstrated by experiment. In order to this, I shall first give a general description of, and then subjoin some observations upon doctor Priestley's electrical battery.

This battery consisted of sixty-four cylindrical glass jars, fixed in a square box; the jars were coated within and without with tin foil, and the floor of the box was covered with the same, whereby the outides of all the jars formed but one continued electrical surface. In like manner, by means of small brass bars extending over the mouths of the jars in their several ranges, and by wires, which connected the several bars, together with others which descended from them, communicating with the inner coating of each jar, their interi-

or surfaces were so connected, as to form, in the same sense, but one surface. Thus constructed, the whole battery is capable of being equally charged in every part at the same time, and of being discharged throughout, by the same explosion.

Here I would observe, that if, instead of the metalline coatings, the jars were filled with water to the same height with them, and were immersed in the same order in a square vessel of water, to an equal depth, the bars and wire remaining as before, the success of all the experiments made with them, would be the same as above. Let then a battery be constructed and charged in this form; after which, let the bars and wires aforesaid be removed, and the water, contained in the jars, be decanted off by glass syphons, and let the water be drawn off from the vessel in which they stand. It is evident, from the experiment of the charged pane of glass, already mentioned, and other experiments, recited in doctor Franklin's letters, that these jars will remain severally charged, as they were jointly before. They may now, when dry, be taken out, and handled at pleasure, with safety; nor can they be easily restored to their natural states, but either by immersing them singly under water, or by replacing the whole apparatus, and filling both the jars, and the box which contains them, with water as at first, and introducing a metalline conductor between the water without the jars, and any one of the wires which connect their insides; then the whole will be instantly discharged with an explosion*.

NOTE.

* These experiments I never saw particularly made, but the conclusions necessarily follow from some which I have seen, as well as from those pointed out above.

To apply these observations to the present subject, we may regard every particle of a body of pure†, but incidentally electrified air, in the same light with one of the jars in the battery aforesaid, which, after having been charged, is deprived of its adventitious coatings: each particle, like one of those jars, will retain the state it may happen to be in, so long as it remains destitute of a conducting appendage. But when, and by what means soever, a sufficiency of moist vapours shall become interspersed amongst these particles of air, to furnish them severally with non-electric coatings, and by the nearness or contiguity of these vapours to form a communication from one to another, throughout the whole, they will then be in the same connected state with the jars in the battery, when complete in every part, and charged; and like those jars, be the particles ever so numerous, they will be in a capacity of jointly receiving or communicating the electric fire. And as, by the addition of jars in the construction of the battery, the explosion at the discharge may be increased indefinitely—so will the violence of the explosion from a thundercloud, be increased in proportion to its extent, and to the multitude of aerial particles, together with their appendant vapours, of which it consists, and which are so connected, as to be capable of uniting in the same discharge. But as a thunder cloud is not usually formed at once, but by degrees, smaller clouds generally forming themselves in separate parties before they join the main body—and as the electrical

NOTE.

† Pure as to the purposes of electricity, or free from conducting vapours; perhaps pure elementary air is not to be found in our atmosphere.

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states of these clouds may be very different from each other, from the different electrical states of those parts of the atmosphere in which they gather—the general equilibrium of the atmosphere over a country, cannot be restored by a single discharge, but successive flashes will dart from cloud to cloud, and between these and the earth, till at length the whole collected mass of vapour is spent and dissolved in rain.

Here a common observation naturally occurs, viz. that frequently, after a flash of lightning, a sudden shower descends in large drops. The mutual attraction between the vapours and the air, when in this electrical state, is sufficient to sustain the former, notwithstanding that they are by this attraction greatly condensed, being as it were forced into a physical contact, both with the particles of air, and with each other*.

NOTE.

* A gentleman of my acquaintance, who is both intelligent and curious, informed me some years since, that he was once upon the top of a mountain in Spain, upon which a thunder cloud gathered; that as soon as the cloud became insulated from the mountain, it discharged a violent tempest of thunder and lightning upon the plains below; that he never was so thoroughly soaked in the most violent shower, as when in the body of this cloud, though without a drop of rain, feeling as if he had been immersed in a river. This idea is further justified by the solid appearance of the clouds, that rise in the west, on a hot summer's day, compared with those which float in the atmosphere at other seasons; which shews a manifest difference in their density and contexture. And when we observe attentively the several parts of a thunder cloud, the

But as soon as the air is restored to its natural electric state by a flash of lightning, this attraction ceases, and the vapours precipitate by their own specific gravity in a heavy shower.

Long and extensive calms, in certain latitudes and seasons, take place upon the ocean, during the continuance of which, the heat is scarcely tolerable†. Where these take place, the air will naturally undergo the same changes, in its density and electric capacity, as the air over the land does in the summer season, and, when sufficiently heated and rarefied, will, in like manner, ascend, its place being supplied by the denser air from all quarters without the limits of the calm. This heated and consequently (granting the principles of the present theory) electrical air, when raised to a certain height in the atmosphere, may become as well adapted to the formation of a thunder cloud, from the vapours which are perpetually exhaling from the sea, as the air over the land under the like circumstances. Wherefore, in some lati-

NOTES.

distinctness of their borders and their swelling furbeloes—how strongly they reflect the rays of the sun, thereby exhibiting the most vivid lights and deep contrasting shades—and on the other hand observe the beautiful effects of their refractive power, in the intense golden skirts which adorn the rising cloud, with a setting sun behind it—we must necessarily conclude, that, although the vapours, of which such clouds consist, are collected and condensed in higher regions of the atmosphere, than are those which usually form clouds at other seasons, yet their density and specific gravity is much greater; and they derive their support from the electric principle.

† See note, page 236.

tudes in all seasons, and perhaps in all latitudes in different seasons of the year, thunder storms may as well happen at sea, even at remote distances from land, as ashore.

I now proceed to consider an objection, which may be raised against the foregoing theory, which I shall first state in its full force, and then endeavour to give a satisfactory answer to it.

Objection. If the electrification of that body of air, in which a thunder cloud is formed, depends upon the heat it has previously acquired, whence is it that thunder storms are frequently attended with showers of hail, which hail is sometimes so large as to indicate its descent from the coldest regions of the atmosphere?

Answer. Sir Isaac Newton asserts, from experiments of his own, that "the density of the air in the atmosphere of the earth is as the weight of the whole incumbent air." Consequently, the air gradually decreases in density from the surface of the earth to the top of the atmosphere. The body of air which is supposed in this theory to be qualified by the action of heat upon it, to become a proper *substratum* for the formation and support of a thunder cloud, is thereby expanded and rarefied, and thence becomes specifically higher than it was before: it therefore ascends till it arrives at that height in the atmosphere, at which the air is naturally, from its situation, of the same rarity with itself; and there it rests in equilibrio. This region is extremely cold at all seasons, as appears from the testimonies of travellers who have visited the tops of very high mountains, even under the line. The greater the heat, which this body of air requires below, the greater degree of rarefaction it undergoes, and the higher, of consequence, it ascends in the atmosphere,

where the cold is proportionably more severe, than is usual near the surface of the earth. But though it was the heat which it acquired below, that first rarefied and expanded it, it will by no means be proportionably re-condensed by the cold which it meets with in its ascent; for as the heat, which occasioned its rarefaction, decreases upon that account, the pressure of the incumbent atmosphere upon it, decreases as it rises, whereby its density may, upon the whole, remain nearly the same; if so, may we not suppose its electrical state also, previous to the formation of the cloud, to continue nearly the same? for should this warm air ascend all together as in a body, without intermixing with the denser surrounding air through which it rises, as a bubble of air does in any other fluid, and as this air probably would in a calm season, the denser parts of the atmosphere easily giving way to it, till it arrives at that region, the density of which is equal to its own, where it would be at rest; should this, I say, be the case, it would not, even in that cold region, cool so suddenly as to undergo any immediate change in its electrical state, from the natural coldness of the region; neither would it be from condensation, its density remaining nearly the same, as observed above.

But when the cloud is formed, or rather when a number of clouds are forming in the neighbourhood of each other, and joining their forces preparatory to the tempest, a general confusion takes place in the atmosphere; various and even contrary currents of air flowing promiscuously hither and thither, as is evident from the visible irregular motions of detached parts of the clouds. In this general effort of nature, to restore an equilibrium, some of these aerial currents will probably introduce air, which having been till now

at a distance has sufficient natural contrary which is atmosphere falling the rent of a precipitating above, and descend in jets other round it; to the ground with a noise in the middle

That the falls through on from prov thus took place vapours with flash of light possible for drops, but next crystal constitutes clear, or perhaps have been towards cold a colder region was formed It may be a thunder of America appearance its progress which seems from in the

* This subject is considered in the state of a thunder cloud are but one kind which is of the nature of a perceived vapour round Vol. III.

at a distance from the scene of action, has suffered no material change in its natural electric state*; and is, on the contrary, fraught with all the cold which is natural to the region of the atmosphere from whence it came. In falling through this adventitious current of air, the drops of rain, precipitating from the body of clouds above, are congealed into ice, and descend in hail, which, as it falls, collects other snowy or icy particles round it; a hail-stone, when it comes to the ground, resembling dense snow with a nucleus or kernel of solid ice in the middle.

That the air, which this hail-stone falls through, is colder than the region from whence it descends, may be thus proved, viz. If the freezing took place, where, and as soon as, the vapours were first set at liberty by a flash of lightning, it would be impossible for them ever to unite into drops, but they must descend in the finest crystals, an assemblage of which constitutes a flake of snow; the nucleus, or proper hail-stone, must then have been first a fluid drop, and afterwards congealed in its fall through a colder region than that in which it was formed.

It may be further objected, that a thunder cloud, in the eastern parts of America, always makes its first appearance in the west, over the land, its progress being towards the sea; which seems to contradict the supposition in the theory, that the vapours,

of which it consists, are chiefly supplied from the sea.

To which I answer, 1. That a thunder cloud is with us very rarely—indeed scarcely ever—formed in the west, without a sea-breeze springing up previously from the east. 2. That the sea air, as observed before, always abounds with vapours, although, from the causes already assigned, they are usually, at their first rising, invisible. 3. That the first appearance of a cloud will always be where the vapours are first collected into a body and condensed, and thereby rendered visible, which, in a thunder cloud, will be in the west, notwithstanding the vapours, of which it consists, may chiefly have arisen from the sea. 4. That when a thunder cloud is once formed, it will be in a state of attraction with the earth in general, and more especially so with all substances which are natural conductors of the electric fluid, such as the water contained in rivers, bays, arms of the sea, &c. and by these the course of a thunder cloud is known to be very sensibly affected.

But the ocean is the grand object towards which its course will be directed; accordingly, the progress of the clouds is from the western horizon, eastward, be the weather below what it may, not excepting the most violent easterly storms, which are sometimes, though but rarely, accompanied with thunder and lightning.

To the foregoing observations I would add, 5. That when an extensive thunder cloud is forming in the atmosphere, by means of the mutual attraction of the condensing vapours, and the body of electrified air, which sustains and condenses them, the increasing density of the whole compound mass of air and vapour will, by degrees, occasion its re-descent towards the earth, from the law of gravity: it will also be attracted by,

NOTE.

* This supposition will be justified by considering, that such is frequently the state of the atmosphere, that the thunder clouds, which are formed in it, are but of small extent: notwithstanding which, the change in the state of the air, occasioned by them, is perceived to the distance of many leagues round.

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and move towards the ocean, upon the principles of electricity; the cloud will then descend obliquely, in a diagonal between the directions of these two powers; and both, continually acting upon it, will jointly accelerate its motion. Such a cloud, if dense and large, would end in a perfect tornado, either upon the land or water, as thunder showers frequently do; smaller clouds being also usually accompanied with gulls or flurries of wind.

I shall here add one observation more, which I have frequently made, and which may tend to confirm the foregoing theory, viz. That, as the general course of the eastern coast of North America, is from north-east to south-west; the course of a thunder cloud is usually from the north-west, with the wind at south-east, perpendicular to the direction of the coast, and contrary to each other.

Inland seas and great lakes, such as are those in North America, may answer the same purposes, in the interior parts of the country, as the ocean does near the limits of the continent, both by affording the necessary supplies of vapours for the formation of the clouds, and by their attractive influence upon those clouds, when formed.

I now conclude with a few hints, which I shall throw into the form of queries.

1. Whatever the primary cause of evaporation may be, does not the formation of vapours into distinct clouds depend upon the electrical state of the atmosphere?

2. Were the atmosphere always uniformly electrical, could we have any rain? In that case, if evapora-

tion be performed independent of electricity, should we not be enveloped in everlasting fogs?

3. Mr. Canton supposes that "the *aurora borealis* may be the flashing of electric fire from positive towards negative clouds, throughout the upper part of the atmosphere." But as the air is usually charged more or less with vapours, even when perfectly pellucid—and as the most remarkable *aurorae* frequently appear without a cloud in the hemisphere, may not this phenomenon be rather occasioned by the "flashing of electric fire," from one region or body of air to another, in a different state of electricity, through the intervening vapours?

4. May not the reason of its usual appearance in the north, and of its flashing southward, be, that, in every northern latitude, the air to the southward is, at all seasons of the year, *ceteris paribus*, more affected by the heat of the sun than the air northward of the same latitude? and does not this occasion an electrical current to flow from north to south, as often as the above-mentioned circumstances concur, though with some interruption from the irregular disposition of the conducting vapours? and may not this occasion those gleams and streams with which the phenomenon is usually attended?



Address to the minority of the convention of Pennsylvania.

(Continued from page 168.)

NUMBER II.

Gentlemen,

THE principal object of my last paper was to point out a variety of instances, in which the agency and powers of the state government are absolutely necessary to the existence of civil society, and to the execution of the federal constitution itself. I therein particularized certain

NOTE.

* Signor Beccaria concludes from experiments, that gentle rains are the effects of a moderate, as thunder showers are of a more plentiful, electricity.

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important matters necessary to be done from time to time, which cannot be attempted or performed by the general government. Here, then, we find, not only that the state powers will not be annihilated, but that they are so requisite to our system, that they cannot be dispensed with.

Having seen what congress cannot do, let us now proceed to examine what the state governments must or may do.

First, then, each state can appoint every officer of its own militia, and can train the same, by which it will be sure of a powerful military support, attached to, and even part of itself, wherein no citizen of any other state can be a private sentinel, much less have influence or command.

2dly. Every regulation relating to religion, or the property of religious bodies, must be made by the state governments, since no powers, affecting those points, are contained in the constitution.

3dly. The state legislatures and constitutions must determine the qualifications of the electors for both branches of the federal government; and here let us remember to adhere firmly, within our respective commonwealths, to genuine republican principles. Wisdom, on this point, which lies entirely in our hands, will pervade the whole system, and will be a never-failing antidote to aristocracy, obligarchy, and monarchy.

4thly. Regulating the law of descents, and forbidding the entail of landed estates, are exclusively in the power of the state legislatures. A perfect equality, at least among the males, and possibly among the females, should be established, not only in the strict line of descent, but in the most remote collateral branches. If a man omits to make a will, the public should distribute his property equally among those who have equal pretensions, and who are able

to render equal services to the community. By these means, poverty and extreme riches would be avoided, and a republican spirit would be given to our laws, not only without a violation of private rights, but consistently with the principles of justice and sound policy. This power, with that mentioned under the last head, if exercised with wisdom and virtue, will preserve the freedom of the states beyond any other means.

5thly. The elections of the president, vice-president, senators, and representatives, are exclusively in the hands of the states, even as to filling vacancies. The smallest interference of congress is not permitted, either in prescribing the qualifications of electors, or in determining what persons may or may not be elected. The clause, which enables the federal legislature to make regulations on this head, permits them only to say at what time in the two years, the house of representatives shall be chosen; at what time in the six years, the senate shall be chosen; and at what time in the four years, the president shall be elected; but these elections, by other provisions in the constitution, must take place every two, four and six years, as is declared in the several cases respectively.

6thly. The states will elect, appoint, and commission all their own officers, without any possible interference of the federal government.

7thly. The states can alter and amend their several constitutions, provided they do not make them aristocratical, oligarchic, or monarchical—for the federal constitution restrains them from any alterations that are not really republican. That is, the sovereignty of the people is never to be diminished or destroyed.

8thly. The states have the power to erect corporations for literary, religious, commercial, or other pur-

poses, which the federal government cannot prevent.

9thly. Every state can always give its dissent to federal bills, as each has a vote in the senate and house of representatives, secured by the constitution. Hence it appears, that the state governments are not only intended to remain in force within their respective jurisdictions, but they are always to be known to, and have their voices, as states, in, the federal councils.

10thly. The states are not only to elect all their own officers, but they have a check, by their delegates to the senate, on the appointment of all federal officers.

11thly. The states are to hold separate territorial rights, and the domestic jurisdiction thereof, exclusively of any interference of the federal government.

12thly. The states will regulate and administer the criminal law, independently of congress, so far as it regards *mala in se*, or real crimes; such as murder, robbery, &c. They will also have a certain and large part of the jurisdiction, with respect to *mala prohibita*, or matters which are forbidden, from political considerations, though not in themselves immoral; such as unlicensed public houses, nuisances, and many other things of the like nature.

13thly. The states are to determine all the innumerable disputes about property, lying within their respective territories, between their own citizens, such as titles and boundaries of lands, debts by assumption, note, bond, or account, mercantile contracts, &c. none of which can ever be cognizable by any department of the federal government.

14thly. The several states can create corporations, civil and religious; prohibit or impose duties on the importation of slaves into their own ports; establish seminaries of

learning; erect boroughs, cities, and counties; establish and promote manufactures; open roads; clear rivers; cut canals; regulate descents and marriages; license taverns; alter the criminal law; constitute new courts and offices; establish ferries; erect public buildings; sell, lease, and appropriate the proceeds and rents of their lands, and of every other species of state property; establish poor-houses, hospitals, and houses of employment; regulate the police, and many other things, of the utmost importance to the happiness of their respective citizens. In short, besides the particulars enumerated, every thing of a domestic nature must or can be done by them.

In addition to this enumeration of the powers and duties of the state governments, we shall find many other instances under the constitution, which require or imply the existence or continuance of the sovereignty and severalty of the states. The following are some of them:—

All process against criminals, and many other law proceedings will be brought by, and run in the name of, that commonwealth, in which the offence or event shall have taken place.

The senate will be representatives of the several state sovereignties.

Every state must send its own citizens to the senate and to the house of representatives. No man can go thither, but from the state, of which he is a complete citizen, and to which, if they choose, he shall be sworn to be faithful.

No state shall, on any pretence, be without an equal voice in the senate, and a vote in the house of representatives.

Any state may repel invasions, or commence a war under emergent circumstances, without waiting for the consent of congress.

The electors of the president and

vice-president must not nominate more than one person of the state to which they respectively belong: so careful is the federal constitution to preserve the rights of the states.

In case of an equality of votes in the election of the president or vice-president, a casting voice is given to the electors, from a due attention to their sovereignty, in appointing the executive head of the federal government.

The president of the united states requires written communications from the governors of the states.

Provision is made for adjusting differences between two states—or between the state and the citizens of another. New states may be admitted into the union. As all the territory of each state is already in the union, it is not that any district is expected to stand on different ground, when erected into a state, from what it did when it composed a number of counties, or a part of an already existing member of the confederacy.

Two states may not become one, without the consent of congress; which proves clearly that the confederation held the sovereignty of the union necessary. This is directly opposite to your idea, that consolidation was intended. Each state and the federal judiciary are to give faith and credit to the records and proceedings of every other state.

The states have, in the federal constitution, a guarantee of separate republican forms of government.

Two thirds of the states in the proposed confederacy can call a convention; not two thirds of the people.

Three fourths of those states can alter the constitution; not three fourths of the people.

From this examination of the proposed constitution for the united states, I trust it will appear, that, though there are some parts of it, taken separately, look a lit-

tle like consolidation, yet there are very many others, of a nature which proves, that no such thing was intended, and that it cannot ever take place.

It is but since the middle of the present century, that the principles and practice of free governments have been well understood: political science having been much slower in its progress than any other branch. Perhaps this has been caused by the greater degree of passion, to which, from its nature, this department of knowledge is subjected. The principles, on which free sovereignties ought to confederate, is quite a new question, and a new case. It is difficult, therefore, to take it up at once in the proper way. One circumstance has exceedingly obscured the subject, and hid the truth from the eyes of many of us. Most of the states being in the possession of free governments, some have looked for the same forms in a confederating instrument, which they have justly esteemed in their several social compacts. Recommending this distinction as necessary to be taken home to your minds, when you examine the great subject before you, I shall cease for the present to trespass on your time.

A Freeman.



A view of the principles, operation, and probable effects of the funding system of Pennsylvania—together with some observations on the effects of a sinking fund—tending to show, that this state, by a proper application of her present resources, may redeem the whole capital of her funded debt in a few years.

"Public credit is public wealth."

(Continued from page 181.)

OUR means are not less, in proportion to our debt, than those of Great Britain were at the time of

luded to, and our advantages in the use of them may be, in many respects, greater; when our federal government shall be properly organized, which it is the wish and the hope of every patriot may speedily happen, these means and these advantages may be put in proper operation by the united states. In the mean time, a cursory review and examination of the principles, operation, and present situation of the funding system established in Pennsylvania, may convey information, not less pleasing than useful, to many of the citizens, and may possibly suggest hints which may be improved to public advantage.

The citizens of Pennsylvania had become, during the war, larger creditors of the united states, than the citizens of any other state, especially in that part of the public debt which was contracted by loans. The cessation of the payment of interest in bills of exchange, according to the original contract, on which a considerable part of these loans was made, was therefore more deeply affecting and alarming to them than to others. They addressed congress by remonstrance and petition, stating in pathetic terms the wretchedness of the situation to which they were reduced, and imploring relief; but the paramount necessities, created by the pressure of the war, occasioned a temporary suspension of the operations of justice to individuals, and left them without hope of speedy relief from that quarter. They then applied to the legislature of the state, suggesting the reasonableness and propriety of liquidating, on the whole, a burden which every one with ease could bear a proportionate part of, though oppressive to the individuals on whom it partially rested. On this application, the legislature were pleased to make provision for the payment of one year's interest, as a temporary relief; and afterwards to

make further provision for the payment of the interest annually, until congress should be enabled to make permanent provision for discharging or funding the whole of the public debts contracted during the war.

By an act passed the 16th of March, 1785, the legislature, in order to make provision for the payment of this interest, as well as certain other payments therein mentioned, appropriated certain revenues to form a fund, viz.

I. The produce of the duties on goods imported from and after the 1st of November, 1784, estimated at the annual sum of

£75,000 0 0

II. The produce of an annual tax, put in operation by virtue of this act, being the annual quota required of this state, in aid of the duties on goods imported, for the purpose of paying the annual interest of the national debt, according to the recommendation of congress, of the 18th of April, 1783, and agreed to by the assembly of this state, by their act of Sept. 23, 1783,

76,945 17 6

£. 151,945 17

III. £. 100,000 of the bills of credit to be emitted.

IV. All the arrearages of taxes due on acts passed since the 1st of January, 1782; which arrearages were supposed to be about £. 400,000.

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On this fund, the following annual payments were charged by the same act:

I. To the continental loan-officer, the estimated quota of this state of the annual interest of the aggregate debt of the united states; for the purpose of paying, first, the interest and arrears of interest on such continental certificates as are therein described; and secondly, such other interest as the united states should direct, - - £.123,932 0 0

II. The annual interest of the state debt, which, it was supposed, would require, - - 15,000 0 0

III. To the late proprietaries annually for $7\frac{2}{3}$ years (one year's instalment having been otherwise provided for,) 25,000 0 0

IV. For sinking the above-mentioned bills of credit, to commence in the year 1786, annually, 20,000 0 0

£. 183,932 0 0

It was supposed that the bills of credit and the arrearages of taxes would enable the fund to support these annual payments till the proprietary debt should be discharged and the bills of credit redeemed, after which the fund would be disburdened of 45,000l. per annum.

These revenues were so calculated, in conformity with the system recommended by congress, on the 18th of April 1783, as to enable the state

to be in constant readiness to conform to that system on her part, whenever it should be acceded to by the other states. And provision was made in the act, for conforming to the regulations of congress, whenever they should be enabled to make adequate and permanent provision for paying or funding the whole debt.

Thus stood the state-system of funding, till the requisition of congress, of September, 1785, made some alterations necessary, in order to avoid interfering with continental regulations.

By an act, passed in March, 1786, for complying with the requisition of September 1785, so much of the funding act, as directed the payment of 123,932l. annually to the continental loan-officer, was repealed.

And by another act, passed in the same month, the holders of such continental certificates, as were entitled to draw interest out of the state fund, were authorized to deliver them to the comptroller general, as loans to the state, and thereupon to receive state certificates, of equal liquidated value, which would be entitled to draw interest half-yearly at the state treasury; by which means, the creditors would receive their interest with as much punctuality as before, and the state negotiate and pay its quota of the indents issued by the united states, without putting them into circulation. These alterations, however, brought an additional charge on the fund for that year, though they somewhat reduced the annual charge upon it afterwards: for, in order to comply with the requisition of September, 1785, it was requisite, besides discounts for interest already paid by the state, to advance 125,318 dollars to the united states, in specie, which sum was charged upon and paid out of this fund.

This was the situation of the fund-

ing system, after the alterations made by the act passed in March, 1786; and except the addition of some certificates, admitted by a later act into the new loan, which were not admissible under the original act, it has undergone no legislative alteration since. Let us now take a view of its operation and present condition. But in order to do this, it must be disentangled from all other matters, and an account stated of the transactions under it, separate and distinct from the other business of the treasury. It is much to be regretted, that the accounts of the transactions under this system, have not been kept, and annually stated to the public, in this manner; and it is to be hoped that in future they will be so ordered. In the mean time, the following estimates may serve to shew how the system has operated hitherto, and afford a pretty just view of its present situation and circumstances, though they may not be perfectly accurate. No notice is taken, in any of these estimates, of the support of government, the redemption of depreciation certificates, former emissions of bills of credit, and some other state engagements: because other funds are appropriated to those purposes, which either are or ought to be made adequate to them.

An account of the actual receipts and payments, under the funding system of Pennsylvania, from March, 1785, to the first of November, 1787, as nearly as the same can be collected from the statements of the comptroller general.

RECEIPTS.

Bills of credit put into the treasury to be emitted as cash, £. 100,000 0 0
 Imposit duties for three years, from the

1st. of Nov. 1784 to the 1st of Nov. 1787,	
—say,	190,000 0 0
Taxes, and arrears of taxes, collected from March, 1785, to December, 1786,	148,500 0 0
Ditto, from thence to the 1st Nov. 1787,	124,667 0 0
	<hr/> £ 563,167 0 0

PAYMENTS.

One year's interest paid in 1785, through the hands of the continental loan-officer,	248,446. 84 dollars,	
equal to		£ 93,167 12 0
Paid to the united states, to complete the specie payment directed by the act of March 1786,	125,318 dollars,	46,995 5 0
Two years' interest paid by the state-treasurer on new loan certificates,		228,103 15 11
Four years' interest paid on the original state debt,		40,469 5 2
Bills of credit cancelled,		40,000 0 0
		<hr/> £ 448,735 18 3
Balance in stock,	£. 114,431 1 9	

Whatever the true balance may be, it is not supposed that the whole is actually in the treasury. Twenty or thirty thousand pounds of the duties may be yet outstanding; but whatever this amount may be, it will come in hereafter. The residue, however, (excepting such farther payments as may have been since made, pursuant to the system) is either in the treasury, or has been bor-

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rowed from this fund, and applied to other uses. Whatever has been so borrowed, is to be replaced out of other funds.—128,489 dollars of this money appears, by the comptroller-general's statement, to have been paid to the united states, since completing the payment, directed by the above mentioned act, of March 1786, and therefore is not chargeable on this fund.

It will be observed, that, in the above account, no charge is made of any payment to the late proprietaries. They have received none out of this fund; the first instalment, which was otherwise provided for, being not yet all paid. The probable reason is, that they have declined taking farther payments on account of the present state of the bills of credit; and they have a right to let their demand lie on interest, until they shall be offered payment in specie. But it may also be observed, that the surplus of the fund is more than equal to the payment of the three instalments, which became due to the late proprietaries, at and before September, 1787, after doing more than the ordinary performance of its other functions; for, in less than two years and a half, from its establishment, it hath paid three years' interest, on that part of the debt, called the new loan, and four years' interest on the original state debt, besides advancing the extra sum charged upon it, for the united states, and sinking forty thousand pounds of the bills of credit.

The following estimate will shew, that the annual produce of this fund is more than equal to the annual charges upon it.

Estimate of the receipts and payments under the funding system for the ensuing year, that is, from the 1st of November 1787, to the 1st of November 1788.

RECEIPTS.

Balance brought forward from last year,	-	£. 114,431	1	9
Impost duties will probably produce	-	60,000	0	0
Annual tax,	-	76,945	17	6
Arrears of taxes (there now remain £. 324,000 after a deduction of £. 30,000 for exonerations,) suppose a collection this year, of		50,000	0	0
		£. 301,376	19	3

The annual payments, directed by law, are:

One year's interest on the funded debt, including new loan and original state certificates,	-	£. 124,706	0	0
One year's instalment to the late proprietaries,	-	25,000	0	0
For cancelling bills of credit,	-	20,000	0	0
		169,706	0	0

Balance to be carried to next year, £. 131,670 19 3
Which is £. 17,339 17 6 more than the balance brought forward from last year.

It is to be remembered, however, that three years' instalments, due to the late proprietaries, amounting to £. 75,000, besides interest, remain chargeable on this balance.

Thus it appears, that the revenues appropriated to this fund, com-

puting £.50,000, a year, to be collected out of the arrears of taxes, amount to £. 186,945 17 6 per annum; and the annual payments, charged upon the fund, amount to £. 169, 706, which affords an annual surplus of upwards of £. 17,000, towards paying the arrearages of interest, or to be applied to the sinking fund.

But that part of the revenue, which arises from the arrearages of taxes, must cease in a few years, that is, when the £. 324,000, now remaining out, shall have been exhausted. Before that happens, however, the fund will probably be relieved from the payment of £. 45,000 per annum, by the final discharge of the proprietary debt, and the extinction of the bills of credit. Or, if any part of these should remain undischarged, the surplus of sinking fund will be proportionably richer: because the whole sum, requisite to complete these objects, is far short of the amount of the taxes in arrear, after deducting £. 30,000 for exonerations of some of the frontier inhabitants who were driven from their habitations by the savages. Let us then suppose the arrearages of taxes exhausted, and the fund exonerated from these payments of £. 45,000 per annum. The estimate will then stand thus:

The current tax and duties produce per annum,	- - £. 136,945 0 0
Annual interest of the funded debt,	- 124,706 0 0
Annual surplus for the sinking fund,	£. 12,239 0 0

It may be observed, that, in all the foregoing estimates, the annual interest has been computed on the whole amount of the certificates, issued and expected to be issued, chargeable on this fund, which remained unre-

deemed on the 1st of November last; and this is certainly the proper mode of estimating, in order to allow due operation and effect to a sinking fund. But this capital is rated above the sum that actually draws interest from the treasury, even at the present time; for, of the original state debt, included in the estimate, certificates to the amount of £. 58,000, have not yet been issued, and a great part of them probably never will be. Of the certificates, which have been issued, there had been redeemed before the 1st of November, 1787, to the amount of £. 22,554, of the original state debt, and £. 37,705, of the new loan. And when we consider the continual flow of these certificates into the land office, by new sales of land, and the payment for old purchases and locations, we may fairly count upon a constant and considerable increase of the powers of the sinking fund, especially as the amount, yet remaining out, of the unfunded certificates receivable in the land office, is so small, that those which come in hereafter must be chiefly of the certificates charged upon the fund.

It may not be improper to remark, that an annual surplus of revenues, equal to one per centum, on any capital, funded at an interest of six per centum, would of itself be sufficient to discharge the whole capital in a little more than thirty years. The surplus, already formed, if it were not for some arrears of interest yet due, would be little short of this amount; and when we consider the probable increase of it, by the means above mentioned, we may indulge a hope, that this funded debt, enormous as it may now appear, may be honourably discharged, by the means now in operation, in the course of twenty years, or perhaps in less time, if every advantage be fairly improved. This calculation of the power of a sinking fund, is

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made on a supposition, that the annual surplus of revenues, with its accumulating increase, is to be laid out in the purchase of capital, at full value. It is evident, that in this case such purchases may be made, at least for some time to come, on terms more advantageous to the public, and, of course, the debt may be reduced proportionably faster. And however dishonourable it may be to a state or nation, to sacrifice the property of its creditors, by neglecting to make provision for discharging its engagements, it can reflect no dishonour on a state, which fairly funds its debts, and punctually pays the interest, to purchase the principal at market price.

But, in order to effect this desirable purpose, a strict adherence to system, and a sacred regard to appropriations, are highly necessary, as well in the executive, as the legislative department. If the legislature would regularly and uniformly assign funds for every expenditure they authorize to be made, and oblige their officers so to form and keep their accounts, as to shew that every disbursement was paid out of, and fairly charged upon the fund assigned for the purpose, it would not only produce regularity and order in the business of the treasury, but tend much to promote economy in public affairs. They would better understand the state of their affairs, and more readily perceive the probable effect of their own measures, and one assembly would be less likely to roll upon another the burden of providing for the payment of debts, which they have contracted. A legislature, which uniformly devises and establishes the means of defraying every expense it authorizes to be incurred, may be said to pay as it goes, and will never want credit on sudden and extraordinary occasions, which may require engagements to be made, before the means of

payment are established. But on all such occasions, it is necessary to the preservation of public credit, to provide for the performance of past engagements, before new ones are contracted. And a legislative appropriation of a fund or branch of revenue, for the payment of a debt, or the performance of a contract, ought to be as sacredly observed and adhered to, as the mortgage of an estate by an individual.

The writer of these observations hopes he shall be pardoned for this digression. It is far from his intention to give offence, or to meddle improperly with the business of others; but he conceives it to be, in some measure, the duty as well as the right of every citizen of a commonwealth to contribute his mite to the general welfare; and he is not without hopes, that the observations now offered, may be improved to public advantage.

If this representation of the principles, operation, and effects of the funding system of Pennsylvania, be as just as the writer really believes it to be, it may tend to remove some prejudices against it, which want of information may have permitted to arise. There is an objection, however, which hath been raised against it, and which may require more particular notice: It has been said, that the state has assumed more than its proportion of the general debt of the united states.

It will be remembered, that at the time this system was formed, the aggregate debt of the united states was estimated at something more than forty-two millions of dollars;—that the quota of Pennsylvania, as it was computed at that time, and has been ever since, was little less than one seventh part, and amounted, by that rule of computation, to something more than 5,745,000 dollars. The new loan (including 80,000 dol-

lars which may yet come in) amounted, on the 1st November 1787, to 5,148,994 dollars; part of which having been redeemed, the balance then remaining, on which the state pays interest, was 4,997,779 dollars and 58 ninetieths;—a sum considerably below the estimated quota of this state, of the whole debt, and but very little more, than such quota of the domestic part of it, according to the estimate, published by congress in 1783. That it has in any degree exceeded our proportion of the domestic part of the debt, has been owing to the citizens of Pennsylvania being original creditors in a greater proportion than others; for none, but certificates originally issued to citizens of Pennsylvania, or paid to them from the public, for supplies, were authorized to be admitted into the loan; and if by possibility a few have unavoidably crept in, which were not fairly entitled, they have probably been but very few, and can bear but a small proportion to those which were excluded, by having been alienated from the original holders, before the act took place. In a business of so great magnitude, and involved in circumstances not easy to be investigated, it was hardly to be expected, that general rules could be formed, less liable to exceptions, than those by which the admissions to this loan have been governed. If the state had, by these rules, assumed something more than her proportion of the whole, it would have been but an equitable liquidation of a burden, which ought to be borne by the state, rather than by individuals of her citizens. And if the state may ultimately derive benefit, as well as honour, from the measures by which she has obtained these, and other continental certificates, by being enabled to perform her federal duties with the more ease and facility, these measures may be considered as acts

of good policy, as well as of justice. In order to shew, that this may probably be the case, it may be proper to take a view of the situation in which the state will be placed, when the impost revenues shall be transferred to the united states.

Great expectations are formed of the order, regularity, and punctuality, which will take place on the adoption of the new plan of government. Let us suppose these pleasing expectations realized. The state will then relinquish her separate claim to the impost duties, now estimated at £.60,000 per annum, but she may keep possession of all her other branches of revenue, if she can meet and discharge at the threshold her quota of the demands of the united states. The impost system will probably yield to the federal treasury, revenues sufficient to fund the foreign debt, support the civil government, and other establishments, and do something considerable towards paying the interest of the domestic debt. Our quota of what may be farther requisite, may be somewhere between one and two hundred thousand dollars. Besides the certificates obtained by the new loan, the state has acquired by other means, certificates to the amount of near one million of dollars; so that she is possessed of continental certificates which entitle her to demand interest from the united states to the amount of 371,782 dollars per annum.—The greater part of these belong to the funding system: whether the rest be added to it or not, the state may join them in her claims upon the union; and the following estimate may shew the benefit to be derived from having this in her power, and that the funding system may continue uninjured.

Annual interest
due from the united
states 371,782 dol-

ars, equal to £. 139,418 5 0
 Annual tax, - - 76,945 17 6
 Arranges of tax-
 £. 324,000. Let us
 suppose they produce
 annually, till the pro-
 prietary debt shall be
 discharged, and the
 bills of credit re-
 deemed, - - 45,000 0 0

£. 261,364 2 6

Charged thereon.

Annual interest of
 the funded debt, - 124,706 0 0
 Annual payment
 of the late proprie-
 ties, 25,000 0 0
 Annual redempti-
 on of bills of credit, 20,000 0 0
 Annual reserve for
 sinking fund, - 20,000 0 0

£. 189,706 0 0

Surplus, out of
 which the requis-
 itions of the united
 States for the pay-
 ment of interest, may
 be discharged, - £. 71,658 2 6

Thus it appears, that the state of
 Pennsylvania hath obtained a situa-
 tion, in matters of finance, more eli-
 cit, circumstances considered, than
 could reasonably have been expected,
 and probably much better than many
 other citizens at this moment appre-
 hend. Her disbursements, under the
 funding system, do not impoverish,
 but rather enrich the state. They
 are distributed among her own citi-
 zens, and, by enlivening the circula-
 tion of money, they promote indus-
 try, and facilitate the collection of
 taxes and duties. The internal tax,
 which scarcely exceeds eight shillings
 every hundred pounds, on a mode-
 rate valuation of estates, is light, when
 compared with the object. What
 but will murmur at the payment

of such a tax, when he considers that
 it is to support a system, which bids
 fair, in a few years, to revive and es-
 tablish the public credit of the state,
 discharge her proportion of the pub-
 lic debt, and do justice to her virtuous
 citizens, whose zeal in the common
 cause of their country, induced them
 to advance their property for the pub-
 lic service, in times of difficulty and
 distress—in times when many who
 are now at ease, would have thought
 it a happy compromise, if they could
 have purchased, with a moiety of
 their property, the peace, liberty,
 and safety which now court their
 culture and enjoyment?

Let us attend to the language of
 congress, in their address to the sever-
 al states accompanying the recom-
 mendation of the 18th of April 1783,
 whereby they demanded this tax for
 twenty-five years, to the precise a-
 mount, and for the very purpose, to
 which it is now appropriated, with
 this circumstantial difference only, in
 the mode of application, that what is
 raised in the state, is now paid to her
 own citizens; whereas if it had gone
 first into the general treasury, a
 small proportion only might have
 come back to our citizens; the rest
 would probably have been thought
 necessary to supply the deficiencies
 of other states.

"The plan, thus communicated
 "and explained by congress, must
 "now receive its fate from their
 "constituents. All the objects com-
 "prised in it, are conceived to be of
 "great importance to the happiness
 "of this confederated republic; are
 "necessary to render the fruits of the
 "revolution a full reward for the
 "blood, the toils, the cares, and the
 "calamities which have purchased
 "it. But the object, of which the
 "necessity will be peculiarly felt, and
 "which it is peculiarly the duty of
 "congress to inculcate, is the provi-
 "sion recommended for the national

" debt. Although this debt is greater
 " than could have been wished, it is
 " still less, on the whole, than could
 " have been expected; and when re-
 " ferred to the cause in which it has
 " been incurred, and compared with
 " the burden, which wars of ambition
 " and of vain glory have entailed on
 " other nations, ought to be borne,
 " not only with cheerfulness, but with
 " pride. But the magnitude of the
 " debt makes no part of the question.
 " It is sufficient, that the debt has
 " been fairly contracted, and that
 " justice and good faith demand that
 " it should be fully discharged. Con-
 " gress had no option, but between
 " different modes of discharging it.
 " The same option is the only one
 " that can exist with the states. The
 " mode which has, after long and
 " elaborate discussion, been preferred,
 " is, we are persuaded, the least ob-
 " jectionable of any that could have
 " been equal to the purpose. Under
 " this persuasion, we call upon the
 " justice and plighted faith of the
 " several states, to give it its proper
 " effect, to reflect on the consequences
 " of rejecting it, and to remember
 " that congress will not be answer-
 " able for them.

" If other motives, than that of
 " justice, could be requisite on this
 " occasion, no nation could ever feel
 " stronger: for to whom are the
 " debts to be paid?

" To an ally in the first place,
 " who to the exertion of his arms in
 " support of our cause, has added
 " the succours of his treasure; who,
 " to his important loans, has added
 " liberal donations; and whose loans
 " themselves carry the impressions of
 " his magnanimity and friendship.

" To individuals in a foreign
 " country, in the next place, who
 " were the first to give so precious a
 " token of their confidence in our
 " justice, and of their friendship for

" our cause, and who are members
 " of a republic which was second
 " espousing our rank among nations
 " Another class of creditors is the
 " distinguished and patriotic
 " of fellow citizens, whose blood
 " and whose bravery have defended
 " the liberties of their country; who
 " have patiently borne, among oth-
 " distresses, the privation of the
 " stipends, while the distresses
 " their country disabled it from be-
 " stowing them; and who, even
 " now, ask for no more than such
 " portion of their dues as will en-
 " able them to retire from the field of
 " victory and glory into the bosom
 " of peace and private citizenship
 " and for such effectual security for
 " the residue of their claims as their
 " country is now unquestionably ab-
 " le to provide.

" The remaining class of credi-
 " tors is composed partly of such
 " our fellow citizens as originally
 " lent to the public the use of their
 " funds, or have since manifested
 " most confidence in their country
 " by receiving transfers from the les-
 " sors, and partly of those whose
 " property has been either advanced
 " or assumed for the public service
 " To discriminate the merits of the
 " several descriptions of creditors
 " would be a task equally unneces-
 " sary and invidious. If the voice of
 " humanity plead more loudly in fa-
 " vour of some than of others, the
 " voice of policy, no less than of
 " justice, pleads in favour of all.
 " A wise nation will never permit
 " those who relieve the wants of
 " their country, or who rely most on
 " its faith, its firmness and resources
 " when either of them is distressed
 " to suffer by the event."

THE writer of the foregoing
 pamphlet has found, on farther
 investigation, that some errors
 were committed in stating the ac-

account of actual receipts and payments under the funding system from March 1785, to the first of November 1787, owing chiefly to the imperfect state of the documents from which he drew his information at the time of writing. As truth was the object of his enquiry, and fair and candid information to his fellow citizens, his intention in publishing the result, similar motives induce him now to offer the following corrections and observations.

The produce of the duties on goods imported from the 1st of November 1784, to the 1st of November 1787, was estimated in the account alluded to, at £.190,000. This estimate was formed on the best information he could obtain at the time, and was intended to be stated rather below than above the true sum. But the accounts relative to these duties, had not then been so stated as to shew the net produce of the duties appropriated to this system, after deducting drawbacks, office expenses, and such duties as have been created by subsequent acts of the legislature, and which yet remain unappropriated. This last article, amounting to near £.40,000, occasions a much larger deduction than was apprehended, and of course leaves less of the aggregate amount for the funding system than was supposed. But on the other hand, it appears by a report of the comptroller general, lately exhibited to the committee of ways and means, that the other revenues appropriated to the system, have produced more money to the treasury within the time mentioned, and that the payments chargeable thereon, have been less than are stated in the said account. So that on the whole, the balance in favour of the system on the 1st of November 1787, as a provision towards making the payments charged upon it, will not be less than the balance stated in the said

pamphlet, [see page 148] notwithstanding this great deficiency in the amount of the appropriated duties. In another respect, however, this deficiency will have an injurious, though not a fatal effect on the operations of the system. The annual produce of the appropriated duties for the current and future years has been estimated at £.60,000. The year 1786 produced less than £.40,000. The year 1787 something more than £.42,000. So that although it is again rising, it may fall fifteen or £.20,000 short of the estimate. In such case the arrearages of interest due to the public creditors, may not be so speedily paid, nor the sinking fund so briskly operative as might be expected, if this source of revenue were more productive. But if the taxes are collected with decent punctuality, or even as well as they have been collected hitherto, the appropriated revenues may still keep pace with the current payments charged upon them; and the reduction of the capital of the debt by receipts in the land-office, will soon create a sinking fund, that, if faithfully managed, may discharge the whole debt in twenty years, or probably in less time.

In the comptroller general's late report, in which he states, but £.169,796 17 10 to have been actually received for duties appropriated to the funding system within the three years from the 1st of November 1784, to the 1st of November 1787, he shews that the receipts on account of that system have nevertheless exceeded the payments £.61,162 2 9. Of the appropriated duties which arose within that time, about £.25,000 had not been actually received on the 1st of November, and are therefore left out of the comptroller general's account; but as they arose within the time, and have been since received, or shortly

will be, they ought to be added to the estimate. There is also charged to the account of this system 86,658 dollars, of the payments made to the united states, beyond what the legislature have directed to be charged. If these two sums be added to the balance stated by the comptroller general in favour of the system on the 1st of November last, it will shew that this fund had a balance in stock on that day, of about £.118,000, all of which had been actually received in the treasury, except the £. 25,000 then due for duties, the greater part of which has been since received. Out of this balance, however, three instalments due to the late proprietaries, amounting to £.75,000, together with some interest, remain to be paid.



Speech of an Indian.

UPON the return of Cornplanter, an Indian chief, to his nation, in the year 1786, he praised the blessings of civil government, and proposed to his countrymen to exchange their savage mode of life, for the pleasures of civil society, and offered a plan of government for that purpose. Whereupon Caiafhuta, another chief, arose, and addressed his countrymen in the following speech, which may be considered as an answer to all that has been, or shall be written against the proposed constitution of the united states.

Brothers,

Before it is forbidden by law to speak every thing we think, and do what we please, I shall take the liberty of bearing a testimony against the government that has been proposed to us.

I shall begin by informing you, that it will deprive us of many of our dearest natural rights. It will

prevent our fishing or hunting upon the grounds of our neighbours. It will take away from us the power of revenge (so sweet to an Indian) and transfer it to certain persons called judges and magistrates. It will prevent our taking as many wives as we choose, and changing them as often as we please. It will compel us to hoe our own corn, and cook our own victuals, both of which are employments suited only for women. It will restrain us from drinking and smoking, by imposing heavy duties upon rum and tobacco, and thereby deprive us of two of the highest pleasures of life. It will punish certain acts which we deem essential to liberty, and a material portion of our dearest rights, with imprisonment, whipping, and death. Our young men shall no more train themselves for the delightful pursuits of war, by occasional irruptions upon the American husbandmen. A formal declaration of war, agreeable to the customs of civilized nations, will be necessary to sanctify every murder, if we submit to the restraints that will be imposed upon us by civil government. No more will dexterity or secrecy in stealing, entitle our warriors to praise in peace, or pre-eminence in war. The pride of our nation, like the oak that yields to the north wind, will then mingle with the dead and noisy leaves under our feet. Those hands which never felt a ligature of any kind, shall then be bound in chains. Your backs shall swell with stripes, inflicted by the hands of merciless executioners; and even Caiafhuta himself, who now addresses you, and who has so often led you to glory in war, and afterwards placed you in safety under the tree of peace, shall perhaps be the first victim to a law that shall place him upon a level with a dog, by depriving him of life, not by fire, not by a bullet, not by an arrow.

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but by the ignominious punishment of the halter and the gallows. These hoary locks will then kiss, for the last time, the passing breeze. Caiashuta's wives shall then in vain weep at the feet of his angry judges, in hopes of obtaining his pardon : and his sons shall be threatened with his fate, for nobly swearing they will revenge this death. And for what shall this neck be made like the crane's ? For what shall his body feed the birds of the air ? Why only for taking a horse out of a neighbour's field, to ride on to our town, or for committing what the white men call treason, that is opposing the execution of a law of the state, which was contrary to his interest or inclinations.

Nor, brothers, is this all. We must submit to yield a certain portion of the profits of our labour for the support of this government. The money, exacted from us for this purpose, will be called taxes. If we refuse to pay them, our horses, or cattle, or farming utensils, will be seized by an officer, appointed for that purpose, and sold for the amount of them. If they bring more than is due from us, the residue will be kept by the officer, who sells them. The number and salaries of the officers of government will be beyond calculation. Nineteen men will be taken from their ploughs, and employed every day in the year, in an executive council, in reading news-papers, and giving away profitable offices. Even the secretary of this body, whose only business will be to light the fire of the counsellors, shall receive, for this service, 750*l.* a year. Thus you see, brothers, the dangers and oppressions to which you will expose yourselves, by adopting the most simple form of civil government, that can be offered to you. It will destroy our heaven-born equality of rank and property. It will furnish the means of advancement to men who are noted for

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"wisdom and virtue," and thereby favour their becoming the lords and masters of their less wise and industrious neighbours. Brothers, our situation is not so bad as has been represented to you, by some specious and declamatory orators, in their speeches at a late council fire. Our cabins are still proof against the snow storm. Our granaries are still filled with corn ; and if we have not venison enough for all the families of our nation, the kettles of your head men have never been empty. The sun shines bright through yonder cloud. The great spirit is propitious. We embrace once more the liberty, the independence, and the blessings of the savage life. Away with all your forms of civil government. They have all of them, in their turns, enslaved the nations, that have adopted them. Even the simplest democracies have been the richest savannas of slavery. Savages alone have preserved their liberties. Who ever heard of an Indian tyrant or slave ? shew me the one, or the other, and this tomahawk shall immediately slake its thirst in his blood.



Extract from a memoir of the abbé de Commerel, on the culture, use, and advantages of the scarcity root.

THE scarcity root is but lately introduced into France. In Germany, where they are much in the use of it, they give it the name of dick ruben, great rape, and, in some places, dick wurzel, the great root, and mangel wurzel, scarcity root ; because it thrives, and furnishes an excellent food for man and beast, when other nutriment is scarce and dear. This root cannot be classed either with the turnip or carrot ; and though, both in appearance and

by its feed, it resembles the beet, yet it greatly excels that root, and seems to form a species of itself. Its culture is so easy, its uses so many, and it supplies so well the place of other forage, that it deserves particular attention, and claims the preference to all other roots, used for the food of cattle. It succeeds in all sorts of ground, but best in moist light land.

This precious root is not affected by the vicissitudes of the seasons, nor has it any destructive enemy. The vine-fetter which ravages every other plant, does not touch it. It is not subject to mildew, nor does the greatest drought stop its vegetation. It does not impoverish the soil, where it grows, but rather improves and renders it fit for wheat, or any other grain, one chooses to sow in it, before winter.

In order to promote the culture of this precious root and insure success, I will point out the time and manner of sowing the seed; of transplanting and cultivating the plants; and of gathering the leaves, which are produced in constant succession, and in great abundance, and are excellent food for cattle. I will then give directions for gathering, curing, and preserving the roots, and point out the time for replanting them, in order to procure seed. I will also point out the manner of preparing the roots, for feeding and fattening large cattle, and raising calves; and then say something of the general advantages to be derived from it.

I. *The time and manner of sowing the seed of the scarcity root.*

The seed may be sown at any time, from the last of February to the middle of April, when the season will permit the ground to be prepared. It may be sown either broad-cast, or in rows at five inches apart; and should be covered, at least an inch deep, with good earth. It should be sown thin, because it is large, and

because thereby it is easier weeded; and because by that means the plant becomes thrifty and vigorous. The seed is commonly sown in a garden, or in a piece of good land, well prepared for the purpose.

II. *The preparation of the ground, for transplanting the roots.*

As soon as the seed is sown, it becomes necessary to prepare a piece of ground, where the roots may be transplanted. It is with these roots as with all other plants. The more the ground is dunged, and the better it is prepared, the finer and larger will the roots grow, and the increase of the leaves will be more abundant. In an indifferent soil, the roots will not weigh more than four or five pounds, and the leaves cannot be gathered more than four or five times. But in a good soil, they will weigh nine or ten pounds, and the leaves may be gathered eight or nine times. In light, sandy, rich soil, they grow very large; and some of them will weigh from fourteen to sixteen pounds.*

NOTE.

* Although the time for sowing the seed is from the latter end of February to the middle of April, yet it may be well to sow some seed every month, even to June; so as to have always plants fit to be transplanted to any vacant places either in the garden or in the fields. "In 1784, the flies" says the abbé, "having four times successively destroyed the turnips I had sown, I substituted in their place the scarcity roots. This was in the month of August. Nevertheless, I gathered the leaves three times; and the roots weighed from three to four pounds. On hemp and flax ground, after the hemp and flax is pulled, scarcity roots may be planted, and they succeed very well. And this second crop, though of a different nature, will be worth as much as the first.

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III. *The time and manner of transplanting the scarcity root.*

About the beginning of May, the ground being well turned up, either with the spade or with deep ploughing, and being well dressed and levelled, either with a rake or a harrow, it will then be time to examine this nursery. If the roots be from five to six inches long, and about the thickness of a goose quill, they should be pulled up. None of the fibres should be trimmed off, but the top of the leaves may be cut, as is commonly done with endive. Then, with a dibble, holes are made in the ground, from four and a half, to five inches deep. The holes should be in strait lines, crossing each other, at right angles, in the form of checkers, at eighteen inches distance, one from another. In each of these holes, a root is planted, so as to leave about half an inch of the root above the ground. This is a very easy, but a very essential precaution, without which the root will not thrive. In twenty-four hours, the plants take root. Any person, with a little practice, may readily plant from eighteen hundred, to two thousand in a day.

IV. *The first gathering of the leaves, and culture of the roots.*

About the end of June, or the beginning of July, when the outer leaves are about a foot long, they are first gathered, breaking them off all round, close to the root; for this purpose, the thumb is pushed down on the inside, to the root of the leaf. Care must be taken, not to leave any stumps of the leaves, nor should any leaves be gathered, but such as are bent towards the earth, the heart leaves being always preserved with great care. Fresh leaves will immediately sprout, and grow more vigorously. As soon as this crop of leaves is gathered, the ground should be bed, and the surface of the ground

newly stirred, drawn from the roots, so that every root may be one inch and an half, or two inches out of ground; so that they will appear, as if planted in a basin, of eighteen inches diameter. In light grounds, it will be sufficient to cut down the weeds, and draw up the earth from the roots. After this operation, which is essentially necessary, nothing more is requisite, but to gather in the leaves and the roots. This is the time, when the roots begin to extend and grow, in an astonishing manner.

V. *The product of the leaves,*

In good land, the leaves may be gathered every twelve or fifteen days. The abbé says, he has more than once found, that in twenty-four hours the leaves grew from twenty to thirty lines, that is, from two, to two and a half inches long, and eighteen lines, or one inch and a half broad; so that, at the second gathering, they were from twenty-eight to thirty inches long, and from twenty to twenty-two inches broad. This, he observes, will appear incredible, until experience demonstrates the truth of it.

VI. *Their use for cattle.*

Oxen, cows, and sheep, eat them greedily, thrive exceedingly, and soon fatten on them. They are given to them whole, as they come from the field. Dunghill fowls eat them, when cut into small pieces, and mixed with bran. Even horses can soon be brought to eat them, and may be kept upon them the whole summer. But then it will be necessary to chop them in pieces, with the instrument hereafter mentioned, for chopping the roots, and to mix them with chaff or cut straw. Hogs eat them also, greedily.

It is to be observed, that milch-cows, which one would wish to keep so, may, without inconvenience, be fed entirely with these leaves, from eight to fifteen days successively. Du-

ring the first days, the quantity of milk is encreased, and the cream is excellent: but if they be kept entirely upon this forage, they soon fatten astonishingly, and their milk gradually decreases. In order, therefore, to keep the cows to their milk, it will be necessary to mix grass with the leaves, in the proportion of one part of grass to two or three of leaves: or they may be fed with grass once a day, or, every three days, fed one whole day on grass. By this mean, the cows will be kept in fine order, and their milk will be excellent. When there is any appearance of rain, or bad weather, a sufficient quantity of leaves should be gathered, to last two or three days; but the heaps should be frequently turned, to prevent their heating. In planting a quantity of roots, proportioned to the number of cattle to be fed or fattened, one is sure of being supplied with a sufficient quantity of leaves, be the weather what it may, even though there should be a severe and long drought. The abbé observes, that he attempted to dry the leaves, and to use them for dry fodder, but did not find it answer.

VII. *The use of the leaves for men.*

The leaves furnish a wholesome and an agreeable nutriment for men; they are eaten like beets, but they have not the earthy taste of the beet, but rather that of the artichoke. They may be dressed different ways. When dressed like spinage, many give them the preference. The roots may be boiled and eaten in the winter. The leaves, produced by the roots in a cellar, furnish also a delicate salad in the winter.

VIII. *The gathering of the root.*

The first coming of hard frost determines the moment for gathering in the roots. Fine weather should be improved for this precious harvest, even at the risque of beginning some days sooner, than might otherwise be

necessary. It is of importance to the preservation of the root, that it be stored without moisture. The day being fixed on, the roots should be pulled in the morning, and left on the ground, that the sun and air may dry them. Children follow the pullers, and cut off the leaves close to the root. This may be done while they are in the ground, the evening or some days before the pulling. In the evening, the roots are gathered into heaps. If they are well aimed, they are then put under cover in a cellar, or other dry place, out of the reach of the frost. If there be no danger of rain, they may be left on the ground all night, and carried next day to the magazine or place of deposit. When the weather will admit of their being left in the air two or three days, it is of great advantage in preserving them. They should be handled gently in loading and unloading them; for as they have a very thin skin, they are easily bruised, and then they do not keep so well.

IX. *The choice of roots to be reserved for seed.*

The time of gathering is the time for selecting roots proper for seed. The only roots proper for this, are those of a middling size, even smooth, the outside of a rose colour and inside white or marbled with red and white. These are the marks to designate those which ought to be set apart for this purpose. Those which are all white or all red, are either degenerated or real beets, the seed of which has got mixed with that of the scarcity. The roots, designed for seed, must be kept by themselves in a dry place entirely out of the reach of moisture, or frost.

X. *The time and manner of replanting the roots to bear seed.*

In the beginning of April, the roots, designed for seed, should be planted deep in the ground, at the

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distance of three feet one from the other. As their tops shoot up to the height of five or six feet, it is necessary to give them supporters. There should be poles stuck in the ground a foot and a half deep, and standing about seven feet above ground. They should be interlaced with rods or boughs to form a kind of espalier; and to this espalier, the tops should be fastened, as they grow, that the wind may not break them.

XI. The gathering of the seed, and manner of preserving it.

The seed commonly ripens about the end of October. It should be gathered immediately, at the coming of the first white frost. The tops are then to be cut off, and, if the weather will permit, may be hung up to dry, against a wall or fence. If the weather is bad, they should be tied in handfuls, and hung up under cover, in any airy place, until they be quite dry. The seed is then beat off, and put into bags, and so kept, like other garden seeds.

Every root will produce from ten to twelve ounces of seed.

XII. The way to prevent the roots from degenerating.

The seed of the scarcity root degenerates, like all other seeds, unless care is taken, to change the ground every year, or, at least, every two years; that is to say, by sowing on strong land, what was raised on light sandy land; and on a light soil, what was raised on heavy strong ground. So that farmers, who occupy different sorts of soil, may mutually oblige each other, by exchanging their seed. The seed will keep good for three or four years.

XIII. How to preserve the roots, from November to the end of June.

If the crop be large, and cannot all be housed, then, some days before gathering, trenches should be made in the same field, or in some other place, not liable to be covered with

water in the winter. After leaving the trenches open eight or ten days, to dry, cover the bottom and sides with straw, and upon that, lay the roots, handling them gently, and taking care that they be well cleared of earth. Then cover them with straw, and upon that, lay the earth, taken out of the trench, three feet thick, beating down the earth, and forming it into a heap, highest in the middle, that the water may easily run off.

XIV. The dimensions of the trenches.

The dimensions of the trenches should be proportioned to the elevation or declivity of the ground. They may be from two to four feet deep. Their length will depend on the quantity of roots to be buried. Their width is commonly 3½ feet. As these roots will keep without spoiling, to the end of June, it will be well to make a number of trenches, viz. one for the consumption of every month, beginning with March, the time when the winter provision, kept in the cellar, is commonly out. The reason for making several trenches is, because the roots, if exposed to the air, after they have been for a long time kept from it, are apt to spoil. This inconvenience may be prevented by multiplying the number of trenches.

XV. The necessity and manner of making air holes.

Every trench should have an air-hole, by which the fermentation from the roots may exhale. Without this precaution, the roots, kept under ground, will spoil and rot. The manner of making air-holes is this; before any thing is put into the trench, fix, in the middle of it, a pole six or seven feet long, and two inches diameter, or between six and seven inches round; then lay your roots in the trench, forming them into a ridge, highest about the pole. When the trench is full, and the roots raised in the middle, half a foot above the

level of the earth, then twist a hay rope, of an inch thickness, about the pole, taking care not to draw it too tight: then throw on your earth, and beat it down as mentioned before.

When the trench is thus covered, and made into the form of a grave, then draw out the pole. The hay will remain in the hole, and through this the exhalations occasioned by the fermentation of the roots, will readily escape. After some days, the hole may be covered with a hollow tile, and when hard frost comes on, it should be covered with a flat stone.

XVI. *How to prepare the roots for feeding beasts.*

To induce beasts of all kinds to eat these roots, they should be washed clean, and then cut in pieces. The instrument, used for cutting them, is made of a plate of iron, a foot long, and two inches broad, formed in the figure of an S. In the middle there is a socket about six inches long, in which is fitted a wooden handle, about 3½ feet long. With this instrument, the roots are easily cut in a trough kept for the purpose. A man can, in an hour, chop as many as will serve 12 oxen a whole day. Before the roots are thrown into the trough, they should be split, and cut in quarters. It is of advantage to cut the roots very small; cattle thereby receive more benefit from them.

XVII. *For feeding horned cattle.*

Prepared in the manner above directed, the roots may be given, without any mixture, to horned cattle and sheep, especially if they are for fattening. But if it be necessary to use economy in the consumption of the roots, then a quarter, or more, of chopped hay, or cut straw, may be mixed with them. It will be well to do this for the three or four first weeks for a lean beast, which is put up for fattening; clover, sain-foin, luzerne, &c. are the best for this purpose.

The Dutch cutting-boxes will render this work light and easy.

XVIII. *For horses.*

Horses may be kept the whole winter on these roots, by mixing them half and half with cut straw or hay. Fed in this manner, they will be fat, vigorous, and sleek. But when put to continual hard labour, they should have at times some grain.

Hogs will also eat the roots, mixed with the wash commonly given them. They fatten on them as well, if not better than on potatoes.

XIX. *The daily allowance for different beasts.*

The quantity of roots, given to different beasts, will depend on the quantity of dry forage given them in addition; for they should every day have a little dry forage, before they are watered. The quantity must be proportioned to the size and largeness of the beast. It should also be proportioned according to what the beast is designed for. Those, which are for keeping, should have less than those put up for fattening. As the size of the roots is greater or smaller, according to the goodness of the soil where they grew, the quantity cannot be determined by the number. Weight would be more certain, but every one has not conveniences for weighing.

The abbé then proceeds to say, that, from 16,000 roots planted in May, 1785, on two arpents of land, Heidelberg measure, which is about an English acre, he fed seven cows and three calves, constantly, with the leaves, from the beginning of July to the fifteenth of November; and with the roots from the 20th of November to the summer following. The cows were fed twice a day, at each feeding, with 16 or 18 pounds of roots, mixed with one quarter as much cut

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straw or hay. Their milk was as good and as plentiful, as in summer, and they were kept in excellent condition.

XX. *How to fatten beees.*

I put up (says the abbé) four very lean oxen to fatten. They were fed twice a day, each with twenty pounds of roots, mixed with five pounds of cut hay, of the first or second crop. In about a month, by the advice of a sensible farmer, I withdrew the hay, and substituted five pounds of roots instead of it. They were fed two months with roots only, and then were sufficiently fat to be sold. They always eat their food greedily, because it is tender. I found it best to feed both oxen and cows, two or three times a day; as they fatten the faster for it, and as nothing is wasted or lost, which is not the case, when they have it all at once. From this it is easy to calculate, how many roots are necessary to keep a cow, or fatten an ox. It commonly requires four months to fatten an ox, on other food; but with these roots, or with the leaves, it will fatten in three.

XXI. *The quantity that may be raised from an acre.*

An English acre contains 160 perches, each perch $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, and each foot 12 inches square: it may be divided into 18,600 squares, of 18 inches diameter. However, making abatement, let us suppose 16, or even 15 thousand, if the land be even of an indifferent quality; it is easy to conceive what an immense quantity of wholesome nutriment may be raised off an acre, and much more, if the soil be suitable, and a little manure added.

XXII. *Advantages of this culture.*

Besides the advantages already mentioned, the scarcity root has this in its favour, that it is a sure crop, not subject to the uncertainties of the seasons. It supplies plenty of food for swine and cattle, which are housed;

and therefore provides a plentiful supply of dung, which is indispensably necessary in agriculture; it will keep down the price of other forage, and enable the farmer to increase his stock, and thereby increase the profits of a farm.

XXIII. *How to raise calves, weaned at twelve days old.*

The scarcity of forage often obliging farmers to kill their calves, it is important for them to be informed, that, by the use of this root, they may wean their calves at ten or twelve days old, and, with a little care and trouble, rear them in the following manner.

When the calves are three days old, they should be presented every day with a little milk, luke-warm, in a wooden vessel; no matter whether they drink it at first or not, it is sufficient if they wet their lips with it. In eight or ten days, they will come to drink it; they should then be weaned: but the whole milk of the dam should be given to each calf, morning and evening, for three or four days: at noon, instead of milk, they should be presented with luke-warm water sprinkled with a little flour. When they are twelve days old, they should not any more have pure milk night and morning, but only luke-warm water, mixed with bran and a little milk. This should be continued for four or five days, proceeding as follows: On the fourth day, present to each calf, from time to time, a little bran; when it begins to lick it, then put before it a handful of bran, and continue this for twelve days, by which time it will learn to eat. The food should be put in a proper place; which should be cleaned well, every time fresh food is put in. After these twelve days, give them three times every day, scarcity leaves, chopped and mixed, with one-third bran, and twice a day whitened water to drink. If it be

winter, the roots will supply the place of leaves. When the calf is four or five weeks old, the bran may be withdrawn and cut hay or straw substituted in its stead, mixed with an equal quantity of roots or leaves. Whatever the calf leaves, should be removed, and it should always be served with fresh provender, to prevent disgust. In this manner, the abbé says, he has found by experience, that calves may be very well raised.



Mr. Carey.

Enclosed I send you an extract from the tour of Arthur Young, esq. in Ireland—The testimony of this gentleman, an eye witness of the fact related, must place it beyond the possibility of a doubt, or supposition of mistake or error. If the publication should induce any of our country gentlemen to try the experiment, I shall be more than paid for the trouble I have taken in communicating it to you.

A. B.

On the use of oxen in husbandry.

LORD Shannon, upon going into tillage, found that the expense of horses was so great, that they eat out all the profits of the farm, which made him determine to use bullocks: he did it in the common method of yokes and bows; but they performed so indifferently, and with such manifest uneasiness, that he imported the French method of drawing by the horns: and in order to do this effectually, he wrote to a person at Bourdeaux, to hire him a man who was practised in that method. Upon the correspondent being applied to, he represented difficulties attending it, the man who was spoken to, having been in Germany for the same purpose. Upon which, lord Shannon, gave direc-

tions, that every thing should be bought and sent over, which the labourer wished to bring with him. Accordingly a bullock of the best sort, that had been worked three years, was purchased; also a hay-cart, a plough, harrows, and all the tackle for harnessing them by the horns, which, with the man, were sent over. His salary was to be four hundred livres per annum, with board, &c. The bullock cost two hundred and eighteen livres; tackle for two bullocks, thirty-six; two carts, three hundred and fourteen; a plough and harrow, one hundred and twenty-three; which, with other expenses, came to forty-five pounds seventeen shillings—and freight, sixteen pounds ten shillings. Upon the whole, the experiment cost, from first to last, to bring it thoroughly to bear, about one hundred pounds. His lordship is persuaded, that the first year of his introducing it at large on his farm, saved him the whole. He has pursued the method ever since, and with the greatest success. He finds the bullocks so perfectly at their ease, that it is a pleasure to see them. For first breaking uplays, and for cross-ploughing, he uses four, but in all succeeding earth only two—not more for the first ploughing of stubbles. I saw four ploughs doing this in a wheat stubble and they did it five or six inches deep with great ease. Upon first introducing it, there was a combination among all his men against the practice; but lord Shannon was determined to carry his point in this matter. He followed a course that has all imaginable success—One lively sensible boy took to the oxen, and worked them readily. His lordship at once advanced this boy to eight pence a day: this did the business; others followed the example, and since that, he has had numbers, who could manage them, and plough

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well as the Frenchman. They plough an acre * a day with ease, and carry very great loads of corn, hay, coals, &c. Four bullocks, in the French cart, brought twelve barrels of coals, ship measure, each five cwt. or three tons: but the tackle of the fore couple breaking, the other two drew the load above a mile to a forge. Two of them drew 35 cwt. of flag stone three miles, with ease: but lord Shannon does not, in common, work them in this manner: three tons he thinks a proper load for four bullocks. Upon the bailiff's mentioning loads drawn by those oxen, I expressed many doubts—his lordship immediately ordered the French harvest cart to be loaded, half a mile from the ricks—it was done—10,200 sheaves of wheat were laid upon it, and two oxen drew it without difficulty. We then weighed forty sheaves, the weight 251 lb. at which rate, the 10,200 came to 6475 lb. or above three tons, which is a vast weight for two oxen to draw. I am very much in doubt whether in yoke they would have stirred the cart so loaded. The use of yokes is out of the question. The only comparison now wanting is with collars.



A short account of the planet Herschel.

By Benjamin West, esq. F. A. A.

TIME, ever pregnant with wonders to be unfolded; has at length brought to our knowledge another planet of our system, which has been concealed from the eyes of mortals, ever since the creation. Great are the works of the Deity! his mysteries how inscrutable! even by the most

NOTE.

* $1\frac{3}{4}$ acre, English or American measure.

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strict attention of the human sagacity. The mind of man never satiated with knowledge, will undoubtedly go progressively on—still making more new and marvellous discoveries in the works of nature.

As much has been said, and little written, by the American philosophers, on the subject of this newly discovered star, I thought it a tribute due to my fellow-citizens, to give them this short account of it; and that it was first discovered to be a planet, by mr. Herschel, after whom the planet is named. The British astronomers, contrary to all the other astronomers in Europe, have named it the *Georgium Sidus*, after the king of Great Britain; but, let the Americans, in agreement with the French and German philosophers, hereafter distinguish this planet by the name of the *Herschel*.

I know of nothing which led mr. Herschel to direct his optic tube at this star, more than mere accident. From the best accounts, which I can get, it was some peculiarity in its colour, different from the rest, that caused him to give more than ordinary attention to it; + and, from repeated observations, he found the star made sensible changes of place from time to time; was thence led

NOTE.

+ October 2d, 1782, mr. Herschel mentions some part of his apparatus, wherein he endeavoured to imitate the colour of the star; says, he was struck with the different colour of its light; which brought to his mind certain stars in *Andromeda*, *Bootis*, *Hercules*, *Cygni*, and other coloured stars. The planet unexpectedly appeared bluish. October 22d, the planet was perfectly defined with a power of 227; had a fine steady light, of the colour of Jupiter, or approaching to the light of the moon.

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to conclude it was a planet of our system. It is but reasonable to suppose this discovery was immediately communicated to all the astronomers, and philosophers, in Europe; and the first, whom I found attempting any calculations of its motion, was Mr. De la Lande, who, in a letter to the authors of the *Journal des Scavans*, printed in Paris, writes thus:

"Gentlemen,

"In your journal for February, 1782, you have given the elements of the circular orbit which I had calculated for the new planet, which has been discovered by Mr. Herschel: that calculation was found to err $\frac{1}{2}$, about the beginning of the present year; and the errors were such as shewed that the planet had accelerated its motion. About that time, M. de la Place, by an analytical method of his own invention, calculated the elements of its elliptic orbit. He makes the greater semi-axe 19,0818 semi-diameters of the earth's orbit; the half excentricity .9815: the place of the aphelion, on the 21st of Dec. 1781, to be 11° , 23° $22'$ $58''$; true anomaly of the planet, at 18h. 5m. 40 sec. mean time, at Paris, 90° $20'$ $19''$, and its mean anomaly, 102° $52'$ $7''$.

"Mr. Bode, having remarked, in the ephemeris of Berlin, for 1784, that the star, number 964, of Mayer's catalogue, could not well be any thing else than the planet Herschel, as that star cannot now be found in the place where Mayer observed it; pains have been taken to examine the manuscripts of that celebrated astronomer, which are preserved at Gottingen; and the date of the observation, on which the position of that star was grounded, is September 25th, 1756, at 10h. 21m. 21 sec. mean time at Paris; and gives its longitude, at that time 11° , 16° , $37'$, $43''$, and its latitude $43'$, $43''$ south."

This observation made by Mr. Mayer, nearly twenty-five years prior to that of Mr. Herschel, and found, as it were, by a kind of accident, not to have been expected or hoped for, appears to agree so well with the computation made from the elements of M. de la Place, before recited, that we may look on the orbit of this new planet as already investigated to a great degree of exactness.

Mr. Mayer made this observation when the planet was exceedingly near its aphelion; a circumstance which greatly enhanced its value, as that important point of its orbit was thereby calculated with the greater facility. The place of the node, for the year 1781, is found with great exactness, to be Gemini 12° , $47'$, and the inclination of the orbit to the plane of ecliptic, $46'$, $13''$; the greatest central equation 5° , $27'$, $17''$, when the corresponding mean anomaly is 3° , 3° , $24'$, $31''$. From the elements here laid down, the planet's place may be calculated, for any point of time, with great facility and exactness.

From this theory of M. de la Place, I have computed the period of the planet to be eighty-three years, and almost thirty-three days; and from a known theorem, first discovered by Kepler and afterwards demonstrated by the illustrious NEWTON, I find its mean distance from the sun to be 19,041 of such parts as the mean distance of the earth is unity. M. de la Place, as I have before related, computed it at 19,0818, and M. de la Lande, at 18,913; but as mine falls between them both, it gives me reason to hope it is not far from the truth. If we take the mean distance of the earth from the sun, as it has been stated from the two observations on the transit of Venus, viz. in 1761 and 1769, and multiply it by 19,041, it gives, very nearly, 1805 millions of miles for the mean

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distance of the Herschel. I have by me, a number of observations on the diameter of this planet, made by Mr. Herschel, with his improved micrometer, and from eight of those which best agree among themselves, I find the mean apparent diameter of the planet to subtend an angle of $4''.06$; and, were the earth to be viewed at the same distance, it would subtend an angle of no more than $.908$ of a second; then, if $4''.06$ be divided by $.908$, it will give $4''.4713$ for the number of times the diameter of the planet exceeds that of the earth; and this, at once, gives for the diameter of the Herschel, 35511 miles nearly; and should its solidity be computed, it will amount to no less than 23,409,870,186,568 cubic miles. And furthermore, if we compare its magnitude with our own planet, it will be found to be nearly as 90,688 to one, or as 117,169 to 1292.



From the Pennsylvania Magazine.

The old Bachelor.—No. V.

Continued from page 91.

Letter to the married man.

DEAR SIR,

I Have read the detail of your numerous misfortunes; but as I judge you have stepped out of your real character, and given me, in masquerade, the history of some disastrous neighbour, I shall take the liberty of conveying, through you, not a sword, sir—I am no duellist—but my best advice to him.

I conjecture that your hero is a knight of the ancient and honourable order of the thimble; one of those party-coloured citizens—in whom the merchant and the mechanic are unmeaningly confounded, arising, some say, from their wilfully mistaking queen Elizabeth's command for a compliment, who,

in reprimanding their want of order in a lord mayor's procession, vociferously called out, march on, taylor's; which they curiously converted to the appellation of merchant taylor's.

Now, sir, I have no patience with this man, because he has so much. He appears to me, in plain terms, to be a hen-pecked husband, and hens never triumph over any other than a dunghill cock; the want of dignity in the one, begets insult in the other. If he examines himself, he will find that what he calls patience, is fear; his humility, duplicity. Why, sir, it was as much as his head was worth, with all its ornaments, not to go back for the band box. It was not to procure peace, but to prevent punishment, that he obeyed. Little minds have little fears, and tremble at every thing. He timorously submits, because he does not know how to command. Women will naturally aspire to supremacy, when the proper head of a family does not fill out the character: yet they are tempted more by the vacancy, than by any original desire to dispute precedence. A governing woman is never truly happy, nor a submitting husband perfectly reconciled. While he keeps right, she will not go wrong; neither can she possess his place, unless he go out of it. And it infallibly happens, that when a woman acts the man, the man acts the fool.

This, sir, is my opinion of your knight of the woful countenance. Were I young, and had a wife, you should see other doings. I am under much fear for his safety, since the publication of your memoirs of him. I doubt he'll hear of other things than wire caps, and perhaps feel something weightier than arguments. Poor man!

(To be continued.)

Address to the congress of the thirteen states.

LETTER I.

I AM sorry, gentlemen, that your unbounded ambition, unbridled extravagance, and confounded impudence, oblige me thus publicly to animadvert upon your conduct. Do you expect, then, by threats of coercion to terrify us into the embrace of despotism? Be assured, they will avail you as little as the arts, fraud, and sophistry heretofore made use of. The plan should have been reversed; for by the latter, your weakness has been exposed, and contempt is now the attendant of the former. Shall the independent state of New York be made a dupe to your body? Warmed with the love of liberty, sensible of our importance and strength, and informed of the arts of designing despots, we are neither to be terrified nor deceived. Central in situation, extensive in domain, strong in number, important in commerce, fruitful in agriculture, invincible in war, and inexhaustible in resources, we dare all the terrors of your resentment, and the combination of your powers. View the resistless floods of our Mohawk, with the rolling waves of our Hudson, and behold a picture of our importance and strength; recollect the shores washed by these waters, and the hardy tribes that dwell upon their streams. Observe the forts at West-Point—the key of America.

Do you imagine we will for ever be sporting away local advantages, the gifts of nature, merely to gratify your ambition? have you not tacitly consented to the independence of our rebellious counties in the north, and have not we acquiesced, to please you? and do you imagine we will now betray the interests of our insatuated merchants, by yielding the impost? 'Tis not our duty to suffer our children to

embrace the wished-for destruction, or to listen to their petitions, when we know their interest better than they do themselves. Why are not your high mightinesses disposed to meet the jealousies of our people? Are you not their servants, and created by them? and shall the creature be above the creator? Why would not the impost, granted till the sitting of the next legislature, answer your purpose? a committee of revision would then be appointed, who should examine your accounts of expenditure, and, taking attestations from a proper number of your body, as vouchers of your good behaviour, would then easily obtain a grant of an extension of the impost, provided there was no suspicion of collusion. Hostages should be given us by the non importing states, as an additional security; not that we fear the success of your ambitious aims, for we know our strength;—but to prevent our carrying slaughter and devastation into those states, which, deceived by your chicane, may be disposed to execute your commands. You say it is more reasonable that one state should meet the desires and interest of the united states, than that you should meet the groundless jealousy of one; but this is nothing to the purpose. You hold up to view the resentment of France, Holland, &c. &c. 'Tis a mere bagatelle: Great Britain will as readily become our faithful ally against her natural enemies, as ever France did; and the first ill consequences of a rupture will be felt by the merchants, which will be the just punishment for the espousal of their present measures. It is said the public creditors will be as great a thorn in our side, as were the Tories in the late revolution. We have two means of obviating this objection to a rupture. In the first place, we will allure the domestic creditors to exchange your continental for our

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state securities; he will consequently be then interested to stand with us. And secondly, in place of all such as are not caught by this bait, we will adopt the tories, by our alliance with Great Britain. Thus you see, gentlemen, we are prepared for you at all points: perhaps you may hear from me again.

A non-impost man.

New York, April 6, 1786.

N. B. Don't pretend to let any of your emissaries reason with me, because I know they are cunning enough before hand, and shall stop my ears.

LETTER II.

I Expected your arts of insinuation were more to be feared than the undisguised efforts of your present power: the event justifies the persuasion. My last week's address has been treated with silent contempt, except by your emissaries abroad; some of whom, sensible of the justice of its sentiments, are unable to conceal their rage and indignation; others, better instructed by you, affect to laugh and call it a burlesque; but we hope to convince the world, by the steadiness of our principles, that we are not the jesting fools you think us; and to convince your high mightinesses, I shall deem the few following observations sufficient.

1st. You say the impost is now the general wish of the best informed citizens of these states. Although you have found means to induce the greater part of the respectable, though insatuated inhabitants of this city, to sign the petition in your name, lying at the coffee-house and elsewhere; yet your artifices being detected (tho' our legislature may favour it with a hearing) it will be treated as it merits. Impertinent petitions are not always to be attended to,

whether they originate from the dupes of morality or policy; for this reason it is of little consequence to you, that you have lost, by your pride in its style, the names of the greater body of the quakers, (I mention it only as an instance how the wicked frequently betray their own cause :) the quakers are as foolishly tenacious as any people, of what you call national honour, but what they choose to call public honesty: they will tell you "That righteousness exalteth a nation, and that perfidy and injustice are the shame of a people," and a deal of such buckram stuff.

2d. You say that a government cannot subsist without a head; we acknowledge it, but see not the necessity of placing it so high, in respect to the other members, as you wish. We will illustrate our idea by a similitude, drawn from the sea, the great element you pretend (with how much sincerity I will not undertake to say) to have principally in view. The sea turtle—is not his body a perfect piece of machinery? and yet he hides his head under his shell; let the shell resemble the state of New York; we will cover you from every approaching danger; we are able to resist the pressure of national misfortune, and bear up against every impending destruction. You will allow the similitude to be just, as far as it respects the present clumsiness of government. But pray why need you wish to be more perfect than the works of nature? Activity and energy—alas, the most diabolical ideas are couched under those terms—for who is more active and energetic than the devil?

3d. You say that although congress cannot and do not demand the impost of the state of New York, as a matter of right, still she will be answerable to justice and humanity for the consequences of her ob-

stinacy. As the public debt must be paid—as national credit must be established—as neither can be effected but by a fixed, certain, and productive fund—as such a fund cannot be provided but by an equal, general, and permanent revenue—as no one has or can point to a mode of revenue, so easy, so equitable, and so unexceptionable as the impost—as the wisdom of the continent, represented in congress, has for five years deemed it the only efficient mode—the measure appears important and necessary. In answer, I say, the major is false, the minor impertinent, and the conclusion ridiculous. The debt need not be paid; national credit is a proud fancy; funds are the means to betray our liberties; a revenue impoverishes the people; and the wisdom of congress is the ambition of despots.

4th. Your emissaries abroad say we are counteracting our own interest; that the day is assuredly approaching, when payment will be demanded of the foreign debt; the means not being furnished to congress, coercive measures will be pursued by foreign powers. France, justified by our base ingratitude, will levy upon our shipping, perhaps with a predilection to this state; our commerce will be, perhaps, totally obstructed; our merchants ruined; our farmers incumbered with the worthless produce of their industry; our creditors roused to do themselves justice; our affairs thrown into confusion, and the blood of our citizens shed! Pogh, pogh, it's all nonsense; we are no more afraid of the king of France than we are of you; and as for the Hollanders, many of us can talk Dutch to them!

5th. Your emissaries abroad likewise say, that all the arguments made use of by us, to justify the partial appropriation of duties to our own and sole use, apply with greater force

in favour of this city; that we are an importing state, chiefly by means of this city; that nature has given this city this advantage, and that the state ought not to deprive them of their natural rights, nor ought they tamely to yield them; that this city is not more connected with the state, or concerned in its interest and welfare, than this state is, or ought to be, in the interest and welfare of these united states, and that when the impending cloud is ready to burst destruction upon their heads, they would be justified by every principle of retaliation, policy, justice, and nature, to declare their rights and their attachment to federal measures, to seek independence from usurpation, and to claim protection from the federal head: upon my word, these are great swelling words; but, like the baseless fabric of a vision, leave not a wreck behind. To conclude, and as I shall not attempt to give you any further information in future, I would advise you, gentlemen, to reconsider the matter; for what end can this restless spirit of domination answer to you, as individuals? Surely you do not forget that you are soon to return and mingle with the mass of citizens; your very existence depends daily upon our pleasure, nay our caprice; and then surely you must experience equally with us all the ill consequences of your ill measures. Beware then of the impost, the surly impost, the blackest impost that ever winged a passage from hell to punish and pervert a nation.

A non-impost man.

New York, April 13, 1784.



Advantages of newspapers.

THE world was never blessed with any mode of communicating knowledge among the bulk of mankind, equal to that of news-

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papers. No publications are put so frequently into the hands of so many people. No book or pamphlet contains such a variety, especially of the historical, political, and moral kind. These are sent weekly, and at shorter intervals, into the habitations of more than three quarters of the subjects of every truly free people. And men must be either very stupid, or excessively vain and conceited of their attainments, to persuade themselves they can gain no useful entertainment by giving these vehicles of information a candid reading once a week. Some there are professedly of this class; but, if the whole truth could be come at, it would appear that a criminal selfishness, a dread at parting with nine or ten shillings a year, is the real cause of their complaint.

I said there is no mode of communicating knowledge equal to this: I repeat it, notwithstanding some will say the practice of preaching weekly on Sundays and other public occasions, is better adapted to instruct mankind than the mode. I am applauding. Preaching is a good institution: and, like every thing else that requires the aid of time and experience to bring it to maturity, is advancing rapidly towards perfection. It is probable the time will come, when this will be equal, in some respects, to the other: it will always be a better polish for the manners and tempers of the people, than the reading of newspapers; but it will be some time yet before the instruction received from this source, in country towns in particular, will be so useful, as to politics, history, philosophy, and morality, as what may be had by a due attention to newspapers.

The assembling together, once a week, of all kinds—black, white, and copper-coloured—of all ranks—official and private—of all degrees—

rich, poor, and beggars—of all occupations, from the first minister of state to the scavenger in the street—I say, such an assembly, where each one is endeavouring to please, circumvent, or deceive somebody else—where every one wears a face and garment he has not had on since the last Sunday, though a very curious subject for philosophy, is very beneficial to society.

The benefit resulting from Sundays is not so much in the article of knowledge and general science, as in refinement of manners and behaviour, in taste and civility. Hence it becomes a matter of useful enquiry, whether Sundays, as they have been for many years observed, or balls and assemblies, are productive of most good to society; or rather, as the former are more frequent than the latter, the comparison ought not to turn upon the quantity of good actually produced, so much as upon the natural tendency of these assemblies respectively to work the good of man, by improving manners, behaviour, taste, and refinement.

“A newspaper!” says a young merchant—I ought to have said a huckster—“I take the paper, but do not look into it from one month to another. I cannot spend my time in reading newspapers.” He had rather rub his shoes and buckles, and keep them bright, than rub the rust of ignorance from his mind. But he ought to know that men of ability, in his line of business, acquire useful information in their profession, as well as other branches of knowledge, by attending to these publications. And it may be doubted whether tyranny can rear his iron sceptre over a people, where a free press is enjoyed, and a frequent circulation of newspapers takes place among all orders and ranks of society. But more of this in another delirium.

CRAZY JONATHAN.

ANECDOTES.

AT the commencement of the late revolution, when the French nation appeared inclined to take part in the contest in favour of America, sir Joseph Yorke, the ambassador from England to the United Netherlands, meeting the French ambassador at the Hague, censured his court for interfering in the dispute, and taking so ungenerous a part. "You have been guilty of a dishonourable act, said he, that is unpardonable—no less than that of debauching our daughter." "I am sorry, replied the French ambassador, that your excellency should put such a severe construction upon the matter. She made the first advances, and absolutely threw herself into our arms; but, rather than forfeit your friendship, if matrimony will make any atonement, we are ready to act honourably, and marry her."

NOT long since, a person visited the city of New York, under the style of nobility. For several months his manner of living accorded with his assumed character. His lodgings, his attendants and his equipage, corresponded only with rank and opulence. Fashion received from him its laws, and taste appealed to him as its genuine standard. Balls, assemblies, and entertainments, welcomed him as their principal ornament; while senators and ambassadors were pleased to be enrolled as his companions. In this career of glory, he addressed a young lady, highly respectable for her character and connexions: but, at the very eve of marriage, by the fresh appearance of the ink, which he had used in forging certain deeds, designed as proof of great family property, and by a dispute with a person about the price of the parchment on which

one of them was written, he was discovered to be a miserable vagabond, whom infamy would have blushed to acknowledge as her offspring.

WHEN George Whitefield first came to Charleston, in South Carolina, the rev. Alexander Garden was episcopal minister of that place. Not liking Whitefield's principles, he took occasion to preach a sermon against him from the following text,—“Behold, those that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also.” In the afternoon of the same day, Whitefield, in his turn, retorted upon his antagonist to a very crowded audience, and with all the wit and satire for which he was so remarkable, from these words of St. Paul, “Alexander the coppersmith hath done me much evil; the Lord reward him according to his works.” Soon after, Garden, not to be outdone, took occasion to declaim with some heat, against the light and trifling tunes used in Whitefield's church, as being too theatrical and gay for holy worship, and such as had been long appropriated to profane songs and airs. “Very true, doctor,” said Whitefield in his next lecture: “but pray, sir, can you assign any good reason why the devil should always be in possession of the best tunes?”

B O N M O T.

SOME officers of the British army who had served during the American war, walking in Hyde-Park dressed in their regimentals, met a man deformed by a haunch on his back, when one of them jocularly clapping his hand thereon, exclaimed, “What have you got here, my friend!” To which the other, with a countenance expressive of his sense of the insult, replied, “Bunker's hill—damn your red coat.”

P O E T R Y.

A elegy, on lieutenant De Hart, volunteer aide-de-camp
to general Wayne. By colonel Humphreys.*

W H E N autumn all humid and drear,
With darkness and storms in his train,
Announcing the death of the year,
Despoil'd of its verdure the plain :
When horror congenial prevail'd,
Where graves are with fearfulness trod,
De Hart by his sister was wail'd—
His sister thus sigh'd o'er his sod :

“ Near Hudson, a fort, on these banks,
“ Its flag of defiance unfurl'd :
“ He led to the storm the first ranks ;
“ On them iron tempests were hurl'd :
“ Transpierc'd was his breast with a ball—
“ His breast a red fountain supply'd,
“ Which, gushing in waves still and small,
“ Distain'd his white bosom and side.

“ His visage was ghastly in death ;
“ His hair, that so lavishly curl'd,
“ I saw, as he lay on the heath,
“ In blood, and with dew-drops impearl'd.
“ How dumb is the tongue, that could speak
“ Whate'er could engage and delight !
“ How faded the rose on his cheek !
“ Those eyes how envelop'd in night !

“ Those eyes, that illumin'd each soul,
“ All darken'd to us are now grown :
“ In far other orbits they roll,
“ Like stars to new systems when gone.
“ My brother, the pride of the plain,
“ In vain did the graces adorn :
“ His blossom unfolded in vain,
To die like the blossom of morn.

“ Oh war, thou hast wasted our clime,
“ And tortur'd my bosom with sighs :
“ My brother, who fell ere his prime,
“ For ever is torn from my eyes.

NOTE.

*This young warrior was killed in the attack on the block-house near Fort Lee, 1780.

" To me how distracting the storm,
 " That blasted the youth in his bloom?
 " Alas, was so finish'd a form
 " Design'd for so early a tomb?

 " How bright were the prospects that shone!
 " Their ruin 'tis mine to deplore—
 " Health, beauty and youth were his own,
 " Health, beauty and youth are no more.
 " No blessings of nature and art,
 " Nor music that charm'd in the song,
 " Nor virtues that glow'd in the heart,
 " Dear youth, could thy moments prolong!

 " Thrice six times the spring had renew'd
 " Its youth and its charms for the boy;
 " With rapture all nature he view'd:
 " For nature he knew to enjoy.
 " But chiefly his country could charm,
 " He felt—'twas a generous heat—
 " With drums and the trumpet's alarm,
 " His pulses in consonance beat.

 " Ye heroes, to whom he was dear,
 " Come weep o'er this sorrowful urn,
 " Come ease the full heart with a tear—
 " My hero will never return:
 " He died in the dawn of applause,
 " His country demanded his breath;
 " Go, heroes, defend the same cause;
 " Avenge, with your country, his death."

So sang on the top of the rocks,
 The virgin in sorrow more fair:
 In tears her blue eyes; and her locks
 Of auburn flew loose on the air.
 I heard, as I past down the stream;
 The guards of the foe were in view:—
 To enterprise fir' by the theme,
 I bade the sweet mourner adieu.



An ode—to Laura.—By the same.

OH, lovely Laura, may a youth,
 Inspir'd by beauty, urg'd by truth,
 Disclose the heart's alarms,
 The fire, in raptur'd breasts that glows,
 Th' impassion'd pang, on love that grows,
 And dare to sing thy charms?

Enough with war my lay has rung ;
A softer theme awakes my tongue—
'Tis beauty's force divine.
Can I resist that air, that grace,
That harmony of form and face ?
For ev'ry charm is thine.—

Of health, of youth th' expanding flush,
Of virgin fear the flying blush,
With crimson stain thy cheek :
The bee such nectar never sips,
As yield the rose-buds of thy lips,
When sweetly thou dost speak.

'Tis thine the heaviest heart to cheer,
Those accents, drank with eager ear,
So musically roll.
Where swells the breast, the snow-white skin
Scarce hides the secret thoughts within ;
Nor needs disguise that foul.

With thee, of cloudless days I dream ;
Thy eyes, in morning splendors beam
So exquisitely fair—
What taste ! as o'er thy back and breast,
In light-brown ringlets neatly drest
Devolves a length of hair.

Unblam'd, oh, let me gaze and gaze,
While love-sick fancy fondly strays,
And feasts on many a kiss ;—
For us let tides of rapture roll,
And may we mingle soul with soul,
In ecstasies of bliss !



A song—translated from the French.—By the same.

IT rains, it rains, my fair,
Come drive your white sheep fast ;
To shelter quick repair,
Haste, shepherds, make haste.

I hear—the water pours,
With patt'ring, on the vines :
See here ! see here ! it lours—
See there, the lightning shines.

The thunder dost thou hear ?
 Loud roars the rushing storm :
 Take (while we run, my dear)
 Protection from my arm.

I see our cot ; ah hold !
 Mamma and sifter Nance,
 To open our sheep-fold,
 Most cheerily advance.

God blefs my mother dear,
 My sifter Nancy too !
 I bring my sweet-heart here,
 To sleep to night with you.

Go dry yourself, my friend,
 And make yourself at home—
 Sifter, on her attend :
 Come in, sweet-lambkins, come—

Mamma, let's take good care
 Of all her pretty sheep ;
 Her little lamb we'll spare
 More straw, whereon to sleep.

'Tis done—now let us haste
 To her ;—you here, my fair !
 Undrest oh what a waist !
 My mother, look you there.

Let's sup ; come take this place ;
 You shall be next to me :
 'This pine-knot's cheerful blaze
 Shall shine direct on thee.

Come taste this cream so sweet,
 This syllabub so warm ;
 Alas ! you do not eat :
 You feel ev'n yet the storm.

'Twas wrong—I press'd too much
 Your steps, when on the way :
 But here, see here your couch—
 There sleep, till dawn of day

With gold the mountain tips :—
 Good night, good night, my dove,
 Now let me on your lips,
 Imprint one kiss of love.

Mamma and I will come,
When morn begins to shine,
To see my sweet-heart home,
And ask her hand for mine.



An epitaph written the day after the capitulation of lord Cornwallis, at York-town, in Virginia. By the same.

ALEXANDER SCAMMEL,
Adjutant general of the American armies,
and
Colonel of the first regiment of New Hampshire,
while
he commanded
a chosen corps of light infantry,
at the
successful siege of York-town, in Virginia,
was,
in the gallant performance of his duty, as field-officer of the day,
unfortunately captured,
and
afterwards infidiously wounded—
of which wound he expired at Williamsburg, Oct. 1781.

WHAT, tho' no angel glanc'd aside the hall,
Nor allied arms pour'd vengeance for his fall;
Brave Scammel's fame, to distant regions known,
Shall last beyond this monumental stone,
Which conqu'ring armies (from their toils return'd)
Rear'd to his glory, while his fate they mourn'd,



Anacronymic.

An impromptu, for the pocket-book of a young lady, who expected to embark soon for Europe, and who expressed a wish to be possessed of some manuscript verses written by colonel Humphreys.

MAY you, fraught with ev'ry grace,
All the charms of mind and face,
Ripen fair in wisdom's beam;
Thine the bliss that poets dream;
Happier still thy prospects shine;
And each wish fulfill'd be thine!

Riches make them wings and fly ;
 Envy blasts the buds of joy ;
 Deadly pangs may youth invade,
 When the rosy cheek must fade ;
 Only virtue can impart
 Our defence—it soothes the heart,
 Death disarms, or blunts his dart. }



The genius of America. A song. By the same.

Tune, the watry god, &c.

WHERE spirits dwell and shad'wy forms,
 On Andes' cliffs, mid black'ning storms,
 With livid lightnings curl'd—
 The awful genius of our clime
 In thunder rais'd his voice sublime,
 And hush'd the list'ning world.

“ In lonely waves and wastes of earth,
 “ A mighty empire claims its birth,
 “ And heav'n asserts the claim.
 “ The sails, that hang in yon dim sky,
 “ Proclaim the promis'd era nigh,
 “ Which wakes a world to fame.

“ Hail, ye first bounding barks that roam,
 “ Blue, rolling billows, topp'd with foam,
 “ Which keel ne'er plough'd before !
 “ Here suns perform their uselefs round,
 “ Here rove the naked tribes embrown'd,
 “ Who feed on living gore.

“ To midnight orgies—off'ring dire !—
 “ The human sacrifice on fire,
 “ A heav'nly light succeeds—
 “ But, lo ! what horrors intervene,
 “ The toils severe, the carnag'd scene,
 “ And more than mortal deeds !

“ Ye fathers, spread your fame afar,
 “ 'Tis yours to still the sounds of war,
 “ And bid the slaughter cease ;
 “ The peopling hamlets wide extend,
 “ The harvests spring, the spires ascend,
 “ Mid grateful songs of peace.

“ Shall steel to steel, and man to man,
 “ With discord thund'ring in the van,

“ Again destroy the bliss ?—
“ Enough my mystic words reveal,
“ The rest the shades of night conceal
“ In fate’s profound abyss.”



The monkey, who shaved himself and his friends.

A fable. Addressed to the hon. ————.

By the same.

A Man who own’d a barber’s shop
At York, and shav’d full many a fop,
A monkey kept for their amusement ;
He made no other kind of use on’t—
This monkey took great observation,
Was wonderful at imitation,
And all he saw the barber do,
He mimick’d strait, and did it too.

It chanc’d, in shop the dog and cat,
While friseur din’d, demurely fat ;
Jacko found nought to play the knave in ;
So thought he’d try his hand at shaving.
Around the shop in haste he rushes,
And gets the razors, soap and brushes ;
Now pufs he fix’d (no muscle miss stirs)
And lather’d well her beard and whiskers,
Then gave a gash, as he began—
The cat cried, waugh ! and off she ran.

Next towser’s beard he tried his skill in,
Tho’ towser seem’d somewhat unwilling :
As badly here again succeeding,
The dog runs howling round and bleeding.

Nor yet was tir’d our roguish elf :
He’d seen the barber shave himself ;
So by the glass, upon the table,
He rubs with soap his visage fable ;
Then with left-hand holds smooth his jaw ;—
The razor, in his dexter paw,
Around he flourishes and slashes,
Till all his face is seam’d with gashes.
His cheeks dispatch’d—his visage thin
He cock’d, to shave beneath his chin ;
Drew razor swift as he could pull it,
And cut, from ear to ear, his gullet.

MORAL.

Who cannot write, yet handle pens,
Are apt to hurt themselves and friends.
Tho’ others use them well, yet fools
Should never meddle with edge-tools.

The banks of Kentucke. Tune, banks of the Dee.

THE spring was advancing, and birds were beginning
 To sing on the boughs o'er each purling brook ;
 On the early green herbage at leisure reclining,
 I was carelessly viewing the banks of Kentucke.
 Hail, stranger to song ! hail, deep channell'd river !
 Thy prominent cliffs shall be famous for ever ;
 Thy high-swelling floods henceforward shall never
 Obscurely roll down thro' the banks of Kentucke.

Disgusted with idle, romantic pretensions,
 The populouseity I lonely forsook ;
 Delighting in nature, with fond apprehensions,
 I eagerly came to the banks of Kentucke.
 O, never did art so much beauty discover,
 To reward the long search of its most raptur'd lover,
 As nature's luxuriant fancy spreads over
 The gay fertile soil, on the banks of Kentucke.

Here genius shall rove with an endless desire,
 Improvements to make without learning or book ;
 While virtue and truth shall forever conspire,
 To bless those that dwell on the banks of Kentucke.
 Here, far from tyrannical power removed,
 The spirit of freedom shall happ'ly be proved ;
 The patriot shall by his country be loved,
 And live without guile on the banks of Kentucke.

Here bigotry never shall raise its foul banner—
 The basis of joy through all ages it shook ;
 The young and the aged, in more happy manner,
 Than those, shall improve on the banks of Kentucke.
 In honest industry their time still employing,
 With heart-cheering mirth all their meetings enjoying,
 With the blessings of friendship, and love never cloying,
 All ranks shall unite on the banks of Kentucke.

Rich plenty, and health, with his visage all glowing,
 Invite and allure us with promising look ;
 Never more to regret other rivers long flowing,
 Nor such as glide down thro' the banks of Kentucke.
 Pale sickness doth pass thro' the land as a stranger,
 No dreadful distemper here frightens the ranger,
 As he passes thro' cane-brakes and waters, no danger
 Expecting to meet on the banks of Kentucke.

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FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

PETERSBURG, Oct. 20.

THE empress has ordered a levy to be made, of one man in every hundred, of all her subjects, through the several provinces. This will produce at least 100,000 recruits, who will be sent to replace the veterans, that may be destroyed in action, or otherwise, throughout the army.

Frankfort, Nov. 13. It is calculated, that from 1776, to 1786, the number of emigrants, from the Palatinate of the Rhine, amounts to 9000, notwithstanding which the population has increased 21,099 souls, the number of people being at this moment 404,085 persons.

Edinburgh, Nov. 26. On Saturday last came on, at the hall of the royal medical society, the annual election of presidents, when the following gentlemen were chosen :

James C. MacLairn, of London.

Theobald M'Cenna, A. M. County Tipperary.

John Fleming, M. A. Westmeath.

Benjamin Smith Barton, A. M. Philadelphia.

London, December 4.

An overture for a triple alliance between the house of Bourbon, and the courts of Petersburg and Vienna, had been put in a train of negotiation by the court of France, and the final accomplishment of it had been urged by that restless people, with all the industry and zeal that ambition, interest, and a natural love of mischief could inspire.

A complete stop has been put to the ambitious project, by the prudence and judicious policy of Russia.

The Russian clergy have offered the empress 100,000 roubles, towards carrying on the war against the Turks.

The following may be depended on, as an accurate statement of the importation into Kingston, Jamaica,

Vol. III. No. III.

from the united states of America, from December 31, 1786, to March 18, 1787.

Staves, heading, and shingles

Staves, heading, and shingles	2,458,000
Lumber	feet 440,000
Boards	72,124
Ditto	feet 346,000
Spars	100
Oars	120
Masts	7
Pieces of timber	342
Hoops	301
Plank	feet 48,813
Bread and flour	casks 6,983
Ditto, barrels	11,483
Meal, ditto	250
Corn, hogheads	2,270
Ditto, barrels	8,783
Peas, barrels	43
Rice, tierces	441
Ditto, casks	1,252

On the 16th ult. their high mightinesses declared null and void the act of confederation, signed at Amsterdam by seventy-five regents, the 8th of August last; and resolved to defend, with their lives and fortunes, the establishment of the stadtholder.

Dec. 21. In consequence of a council held on Wednesday, at the Cockpit, it was determined immediately to commence a new coinage of copper; and, in order to put a total stop to counterfeit half-pence and farthings, which are now so great a burden to the public, it was resolved, that in the new arrangement, one pound of copper should be made into twenty four half-pence, instead of eight and forty, which has been the practice hitherto, and the farthings in the same proportion of size and weight.

These resolutions will be put into execution in the course of a few weeks: and an order of council will probably be issued almost immediately to stop the circulation of counterfeit copper.

L

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE.

Lexington (Kentucke) Nov. 12. We have received information that a few days ago, the Indians killed three men on the road from Kentucke to Cumberland, and that a great body of Indians have since been seen near the Sinking Spring, supposed to be at least two hundred in number, and appeared to be making towards the Wabash.

Norwich, Jan. 24. Within the compass of twelve miles from the state-house in this town, no less than eight bridges have been destroyed by the flood, occasioned by the storm of the 16th instant.

Charleston, (S. C.) Jan. 15. We are informed by good authority, that Mr. Squibb has discovered a new species of *Oryza*, or rice, indigenous to this state. The plant ripens its seed in June, and appears to be perennial.

Jan. 31. Major Butler stated yesterday to the house of representatives, that he had just received a letter from Georgia, from a member of the legislature at Augusta, mentioning that they had sent several dispatches to congress, earnestly requesting assistance against the Indians, but received for answer, that there was not a sufficient number of members to constitute a congress, and therefore no relief could be sent, and that Georgia could not raise any men; which had given additional spirits to the Indians, who were preparing for war in greater force than before.

Feb. 28. A new mode of applying steam to machinery has been discovered by Messrs. Isaac Briggs and William Longstreet, both of Georgia; and sanguine expectations are formed of its utility. We have been favoured with the following description, viz. Their engine is so constructed, that the steam operates, alternately, at each end of an horizontal cylinder, on a piston, which it causes to vibrate both ways with equal force;

that this force is not checked by cooling the cylinder, the unavoidable consequence of an injection of cold water, but that an alternate condensation, in the cylinder on each side of the piston, is effected by means of metallic pipes surrounded by cold water, so that there is always a vacuum on one side of the piston, when the steam is acting on the other; and that the steam, when condensed, becoming warm water, is forced into the boiler again by a small pump.

Baltimore, Feb. 29. The legislature of the state of North Carolina have called a convention, for the purpose of "discussing the momentous subject of the federal constitution," to meet on the seventeenth day of July next.

Springfield, March 5. We hear from Ludlow, that about five or six weeks ago, a dog belonging to Mr. David Fuller of that place, ran mad, and bit a number of cattle; several of which, about three weeks afterwards, were seized with violent madness, and have since died. Mr. Fuller himself was also bitten by his dog, about the same time, on his hand, in such a manner as to make the blood come very freely; but we are happy to hear, that it has not, as yet, produced any bad effect.

Elizabeth-town, March 5. A company of men, in the state of New York, have, in violation of the constitution, and to evade the existing laws, taken a lease from the Mohawk Indians, for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, of 12,000,000 acres of land, at the annual rent of 1250l. The matter has been canvassed before the legislature, who have deemed the procedure illegal, and the lessees not entitled to any emolument accruing from it. They consider it, to all intents and purposes, a purchase, which their laws forbid.

Carlisle, March 5. A narrative of facts, respecting the manner in

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which the prisoners were liberated from their confinement in the jail of Cumberland county, on Saturday the 1st of March, instant :

It is presumed the public are already in full possession of the cause which gave rise to the following transactions, viz. the opposition made by some of the inhabitants of the borough of Carlisle, to the rejoicing intended to be celebrated by the federalists, on the 26th and 27th of December last. It is already known, that a number of depositions were taken in the office of John Agnew, esq. with an intention to criminate the several persons who were active in opposing said rejoicing, on which depositions, or other information, laid before the honourable the supreme justices of the state of Pennsylvania, a warrant was issued, charging the said opposers with divers unlawful acts, &c. and commanding the sheriff of this county to apprehend twenty persons therein named, and take them before some of the justices of the supreme court, or any of the justices of Cumberland county, to answer to the premises, and be dealt with according to law. Some time after, the sheriff received the warrant, and called upon the defendants, and informed them such warrant was in his hands—each person willingly agreed to appear at any time he might think proper, before any magistrate of this county: he thought proper to appoint Monday the 25th of February last, for them to appear before John Agnew, esq. which they readily complied with. The warrant being read, which exhibited the charge of a riot against the defendants, they demanded that they should be confronted with the witnesses, and offered, if permitted, to produce sufficient evidence to exculpate themselves from the charge alleged against them, which was refused,

as the magistrate was of opinion, that it was not in his power to supersede a warrant issued by the supreme justices. In the interim, a country magistrate arrived, who had been previously sent for by John Agnew, esq. After a short consultation they came forth, and the country justice told the defendants that in his opinion the warrant admitted of a hearing, but added, that he was determined not to act in the matter, and advised the defendants to accept of a proposal made by mr. Agnew, which was, to remain in the custody of the sheriff, until the 25th of March next, at which time mr. Agnew hoped to have instructions from the supreme justices. Seven of the defendants absolutely rejected the proposal, unless they were assured of an investigation of the premises at the time above mentioned, which was likewise refused. Bail was then demanded by the justice; the defendants answered they were conscious that they were guilty of no crime against the laws of their country; and as they were prosecuted to gratify party-spite, they were determined not to enter bail on the occasion, but would otherwise willingly comply with the orders of his worship; upon which mr. Agnew wrote and signed their commitment, and gave it to the sheriff, who conducted the prisoners to the county jail. Immediately the country took the alarm, on hearing that a number of persons were confined in prison for opposing a measure that was intended to give sanction to the proposed federal constitution. The people, who composed the different companies of militia in this county, thought proper to collect, and appointed to meet in Carlisle, on Saturday last, to enquire why those persons were committed, and at the same time determined to act agreeably to the opposition offer-

ed them by the rejoicing party. Accordingly about sun-rise the bell began to ring, and the men under arms made their appearance from different quarters, who previously had appointed one person from each company to represent them in a committee, for the purpose of consulting on such measures as might be most expedient on the occasion. Previous to their meeting, five persons with delegated power from the people of Dauphin county, had met a number of federalists, and had proposed terms of accommodation. In one hour the federalists promised to give them an answer, at which time they accordingly met, together with the committee appointed by the different companies, who immediately agreed upon terms of accommodation, and mutually consented to transmit a petition to council, signed by a number of respectable persons on both sides of the question; they then agreed that the sheriff should sign the following discharge.

Be it known, that I Charles Leeper, esq, sheriff of Cumberland county, do hereby discharge from their imprisonment in the jail of this county of Cumberland, the following persons, viz. James Wallace, William Petrikin, Thomas Dickson, Samuel Greer, Bartholomew White, Joseph White, Joseph Young, and Joseph Steel.

CHARLES LEEPER, sheriff.

After the above agreement was ratified, the militia were marched under their respective officers from the public square to the jail, where the sheriff conducted the prisoners to the street: having read the above discharge, they were restored to their former liberty with loud huzzas and a feu de joye from right to left of the companies, who then marched out of town in good order, without injuring any person or property, except by firing two balls through a tavern-keeper's sign.

New-York, March 10. Elisba Thomas, of New-Durham, in New Hampshire, whom, not long since, we mentioned to have murdered a captain Drown, made his escape, but soon after was apprehended, and committed to the jail in Dover. Thomas left at home his wife and six children. Some days after, his wife, taking with her, her youngest child in her arms to one of the neighbours, set out for Dover, to see her husband. In the night, the other five being in bed, the eldest of them was awaked from his sleep by the falling of a board from the wall on the bed, which, with the house, he saw was in a flame. Springing instantly from the bed, he in vain attempted to save from the flames his four brothers and sisters, who, with the house, in a short time were reduced to ashes, himself only escaping to tell the news.

The representatives of the quakers in New England, have petitioned the assembly of Rhode Island, against the act for making paper money a tender, and likewise against that for making notes and accounts void, if not settled in two years. The assembly have received the petition, and referred it to the next session, ordering copies of it, in the mean time, to be published and distributed.

The state convention of New Hampshire has adjourned from Exeter to Concord, about one hundred miles inland, there to meet on the third Wednesday in June next. Previous to this adjournment, for eight days, very warm debates were had upon the propriety of adopting the constitution.

By the accounts received last evening, we find, that the adjournment of the convention of New Hampshire was carried by 56—against 51.

Boston, March 10. A gentleman in this town has received a letter from Charles Logie, esq. his Bri-

vennic majesty's consul at Algiers, dated Nov. 5, 1787, of which the following is the substance: after giving an account of his being obliged to confine himself to his own house above a year, on account of the plague, he observes, that notwithstanding the distressed situation the unhappy American captives are in, by being obliged to mix and work in common with the natives, of whom upwards of three hundred have died of a day, yet only three out of twenty-two have been taken off by that distemper—he mentions the death of capt. Coffin, a brother of captain Suabeal Coffin, after a lingering illness, on the 2d of November, and that he had afforded him every assistance in his power—as well as to the captains of ships, and to the American people in general there; and this, he says, not merely from the common motives of humanity, but from gratitude, he bearing in mind the many civilities he met with in Boston, from a great number of its respectable inhabitants, upwards of twenty years ago. Mr. Logie likewise says, that the cause of humanity would be greatly promoted, by a subscription for the relief of the unfortunate American sufferers, now in servitude there.

Friday a resolve passed the honourable house of representatives (but not by a very full vote, the majority being but about eleven) for pardoning and restoring to the privileges of a freeman, the famous capt. Luke Day, who for some time past has been confined in jail in this town.

March 13. The legislature of this state has repealed the law offering a reward for the apprehending Daniel Shays, &c.

A petition has been presented to the general court by Shays and Parham, praying a pardon, which, it is said, will be granted.

Philadelphia.

March 3. This day, pursuant to his sentence John White, alias John Tracey, was executed on the commons, for piracy and murder.

March 6. The quarter sessions of the county of Philadelphia began on last Monday in this city. Only three bills for larceny, or any other infamous crime, were found by the grand jury; and the property stolen in those three cases amounted to no more than sixty-two shillings.

The assembly of Rhode Island have passed an act appointing the 4th of March, inst. for the people of that state to convene in town meetings, and there to consider and determine upon the expediency of adopting the proposed constitution.

March 10. The committee appointed by the general assembly, to consider the petitions presented in favour of the distressed Africans, praying a prohibition of the slave trade, and an extension of the act for the gradual abolition of slavery, made a long and liberal report upon the subject, and it is referred to the same to bring in a bill, to prevent the mischiefs complained of, and to amend the existing law.

The committee appointed on that part of the message from council, respecting the passing a declaratory act, upon the subject of the treaty with Great Britain, made report of a resolution, that the executive council be informed, that the house cannot find any act now in force, which is repugnant to that treaty, or any article thereof, or that tends to restrain, limit, or in any manner impede, retard or counteract the operation and execution thereof, or to explain the same.

March 19. The hon. George Handly, esq. is appointed governor of the state of Georgia, in the room of general Jackson, who has resigned.

An Augusta paper of the 16th ult.

says, "We hear from Green county, that on Saturday the 2d instant the Indians killed captain Autry near Richland creek."

March 20. The manufacturing society of this city have at length obtained two complete machines for carding and spinning cotton, one of which cards forty pounds of cotton per day, and the other spins fifty threads at a time. We feel infinite pleasure in communicating this agreeable intelligence to the public, and we have no doubt, that by application to the society, private persons or companies will be informed how they may be supplied with them. As they are of the greatest consequence to this country, we beg leave to suggest the propriety of gentlemen in every town in the state joining to procure one of each. Five lads of fifteen years of age, and a girl of twelve, may tend four spinning and one carding machines, which will card and spin 12,000lb of cotton per annum.

It is earnestly hoped that the southern states will pay the most immediate and the most unremitted attention to the cultivation of cotton, to which their soil, their climate, and their population, are all adapted. Without cotton, the newly acquired machines will be of no value; with abundance of that raw material, they may perform wonders.

March 24. By a letter from Georgia, we are informed "that gen. Clark lately fell in with a considerable body of Indians, who were defeated after a short conflict. A body of three hundred of them attacked a fort on the Oconee, and were repulsed with considerable loss. They are well armed, and have lately received a great supply of military articles from Pensacola."

Late accounts from Pittsburgh mention, that on Monday the 11th of February last, the superintendent of

Indian affairs dispatched messengers to invite the chiefs of all the Indian tribes within the northern district, to a general treaty, in the spring, to be held by him and the governor of the western territory in conjunction, by order of congress, in order, if possible, to settle all uneasiness existing between the united states, and the Indian nations, and to establish a lasting peace; much is expected from the abilities and accommodating disposition of those gentlemen, whose characters, both public and private, are well known. The superintendent set off the same day to New York, to make the necessary arrangements.

It is recommended to the landholders of Pennsylvania, especially those who own unimproved lands, heavily timbered, to consider the method of making pot-ash practised by the farmers of Russia and Sweden, as related in Postlethwaite's dictionary, and the Encyclopædia Britannica. They will find a method of clearing their lands of timber, profitable to themselves, and very beneficial to the commerce of the state. It is believed, that a sum greater than our impost, might be made by attention to this article. The people of New York have long enjoyed the benefits arising from it, and as it serves for a remittance to Europe, great sums are kept in the state, which would otherwise be exported.

The committee appointed by the general assembly on the 14th of September, to visit the Pennsylvania hospital, reported,

That they have performed that service, and had the pleasure to find the house in perfect good order, and the patients accommodated, with an appearance of decency and comfort, highly commendable.

From the information received of the attending managers, and the observation of the committee, they

think it their duty to report, that the managers and persons employed in the institution appear to have great merit in the execution of this charitable service.

Extract of a letter from New York, March 26.

"Capt. Prince, from Cayenne and St. Eustatia, at his departure, left at the former port the brig Washington, capt. Gardener, belonging to Rhode Island, and the ship Black Prince, capt. Newman, belonging to Philadelphia, both vessels from Africa with slaves."

March 29. This day the general assembly of this state adjourned, to meet on the 2d Tuesday in September next. Previously to their adjournment, the house ordered five hundred copies of the supplement to the law for the gradual abolition of slavery, and the same number of copies of the militia law, to be printed, and forwarded to the prothonotaries of the respective counties, for the information of the public.

The committee of the assembly appointed to consider the operation of the penal law of this state, reported that it would be proper to appoint a committee to bring in a bill, to alter and amend the same. A motion was made by dr. Logan to repeal the law, but it was contrary to the general sense of the house, and accordingly rejected.

March 31. Late accounts from Charleston mention, that the fires in that city have been so frequent and so fatal, that there is reason to suspect they have been occasioned by the same gang of incendiaries who have lately travelled from New York to that state.

BANKRUPTS.

Ann Gibbs, of the city of Philadelphia, merchant.

John Ferguson, of the city of Philadelphia, merchant.

Dean Timmons of the city of

Philadelphia, tallow chandler, dealer, and chapman.

William Tilton, late of the city of Philadelphia, now of the town of Pittsburg, merchant.

Stacy Hepburn, of the city of Philadelphia, merchant.

Joshua Smith, late of Egg Harbour township, county of Gloucester, state of New Jersey, now of the city of Philadelphia, merchant.

James M'Cutcheon, of the city of Philadelphia, victualler and butcher.

Hugh Newbigging, of the city of Philadelphia, merchant.

Richard Mason, of the city of Philadelphia, merchant.

John Fowler, of the township of Lampeter, in Lancaster county.

MARRIAGES.

Massachusetts. At Boston, Mr. John Allen, printer, to miss Sally Rand, of Charlestown.

New York. Mr. Charles Wilkes to miss Shaw; mr. Abraham Franklin, to miss Ann Townsend of Long Island.

Maryland. At Baltimore, Mr. James Croxall to miss Nelly Gittings.

South Carolina. At Charleston, mr. William Cam, merchant, to miss Wigfall; capt. John Trott, to miss Mary Fendid.

Georgia. At Savannah, mr. Frederick Herb, to miss Mary Brown; mr. Robert Holmes to miss Betsey Butler.

DEATH.

In Great Britain. Paul Fisher, esq. of Clifton, near Bristol, who has left to the society for propagating the gospel two thousand pounds, of which five hundred pounds is for propagating the gospel in America; five hundred pounds for encouraging the protestant working schools in Ireland; and the remaining one thousand pounds for the use of the first bishop that shall be appointed in America, with the interest of the same, provided a fee be constituted in twenty-five years.

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